The Outlook

Vol. 73 January 17, 1903 No. 3

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The Outlook is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The first issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

Price.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

Postage is Prepaid by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila Samoa, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

Change of Address.—When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

Discontinuances.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of the paper discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

How to Remit.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of THE OUTLOOK COMPANY. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

Letters should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY

287 Fourth Avenue, New York

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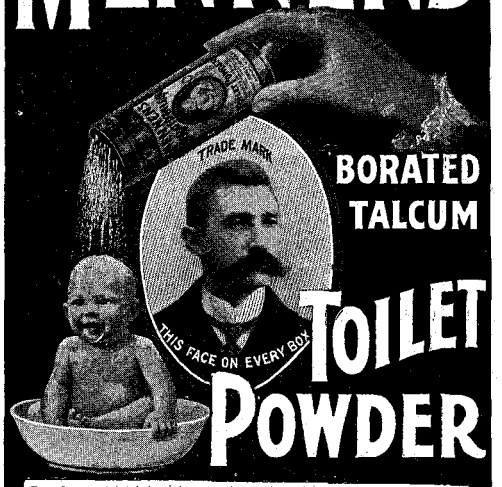

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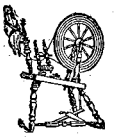

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The Outlook

Published Weekly

Vol. 73 January 17, 1903 No. 3

The Anti-Trust Programme

Apart from the action of the House in passing the General Staff Bill, which we have so often warmly commended, by a vote of 153 to 52, and the debate in the Senate on party responsibility for the tariff on coal, the interest of both houses last week was practically absorbed in the new legislation proposed for the regulation of trusts. At the very beginning of the week, Senator Hoar, the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the upper house, introduced his well-considered and unexpectedly radical bill, and the day following Attorney-General Knox, acting upon the requests he had received from the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, outlined the legislation he believed essential to cope with the evil of industrial monopoly. Were it not for the overshadowing importance of Mr. Knox's letter setting forth the programme of the Administration, we should describe in detail Senator Hoar's bill and outline his elaborate speech in support of it. At present, however, we shall only note that the bill applies to all corporations selling their products in other States than those in which they are chartered, establishes publicity for all their operations, and forbids attempts to break down competitors by lowering prices in specific localities or by binding purchasers not to buy of competitors. The programme of Attorney-General Knox is more limited in its scope, but proceeds strongly along the line of dealing with the worst evils first and establishing in the courts the right of Congress to go further as occasion demands. The Attorney-General starts out with the declaration that the end sought is not the destruction of combinations, but their regulation and the correction of "the tendency toward monopolization of the industrial business of the country." In his judgment, he says, monopoly would be impossible in this country, where abundant capital is within the reach of capable and enterprising men, if competition were assured a fair and open field. The advantages of production on a colossal scale, he points out, are often more than counterbalanced by "the close economies possible through direct, personal, interested management." "If the law will guarantee to the smaller producer protection against piratical methods in competition, and keep the highways to the market open and available to him for the same tolls charged to his powerful competitor, he will manage to live and thrive to an astonishing degree." With this view of the situation, he would restrict anti-trust legislation to the securing of equal freight rates and the prevention of what he aptly calls "predatory competition."

❀

To Secure Equal Freight Rates

In order to secure equal freight rates the Attorney-General recommends that legislation be directed against those who receive as well as those who give the advantages of discrimination, and that the legislation against the recipients "take the form of penalizing the transportation of goods produced by the guilty parties, and the Federal Courts be given power to restrain such transportation at the suit of the Government." The Attorney-General points out that, "whatever Congress may have designed" in the Inter-State Commerce Act, that act "as construed by the courts" cannot easily be employed to punish shippers for participating in unjust discriminations. "The courts have held," he says, "that to constitute an unjust discrimination it is necessary to prove that at the time the unlawful lower rate was being granted to the favored shipper the higher lawful rate was imposed against another shipper on like commodities be-

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tween the same points." In many cases the person unlawfully favored has become the only shipper between the two points, and the whole provision is rendered hopelessly ineffective. Similarly, the penalties imposed by the act against the carriers granting the discriminating rates "have been held by the courts not to be applicable to any carrier that is an incorporated company." Only the agent who makes the unlawful concession can be punished, and he "is usually the only person by whom it can be ascertained that the rebate has been paid, and when he has testified in relation to the matter he has thereby obtained amnesty from prosecution." Attorney-General Knox would have the law changed so that the incorporated companies and the beneficiaries could both be punished, and the right of the courts to enjoin such practices be made certain. He would also have the law provide that the published rates of railroads must in all cases be adhered to, and that where traffic is transported at less than those rates all the participants should be punished.

❀

To Prevent "Predatory" Competition

Thus far the Attorney-General's recommendations relate only to the discriminations practiced by the railroads through which the industrial trusts have been favored. He proposes an additional provision directed against the discriminations which the industrial trusts themselves practice when they "sell below the general price of a commodity in particular localities, or otherwise in particular localities wantonly seek to destroy competition." The products of such combinations he would exclude from crossing State lines. In order to get all the information necessary to correct trust abuses, he recommends the creation of a new commission charged with the duty of investigating the operations of corporations "engaged in inter-State commerce," and armed with the power to require witnesses to testify and to produce the books, papers, contracts, and documents bearing upon the points investigated. Finally, in order to secure prompt decisions from the Supreme Court upon cases arising under the anti-trust laws, the Attorney-General asks that his department be given the same authority to advance such cases to their final hearing that the department already has to advance certain other classes of cases of less public moment. What the Attorney-General particularly desires, of course, is a final decision from the Supreme Court upon the constitutionality of an act of Congress debarring from inter-State commerce the products of corporations attempting to monopolize trade by plainly unreasonable acts. If the Supreme Court decides that Congress has this power, the way will be open to develop anti-trust legislation so as to require the same publicity from oil, steel, and other manufacturing trusts that this act requires from the railroads that are engaged in inter-State transportation. The present programme does not claim to be complete. It is distinctively a plan for protecting producers against unfair competition from the trusts, rather than for protecting consumers against unfair prices; yet, as the Attorney-General says in conclusion, the adoption of the legislation proposed "will make a long first stride in advance."

❀

The President and Negro Office-Holders

The action of President Roosevelt in sending to the Senate the nomination of Dr. Crum, a colored physician of Charleston, as Collector for that port, and the closing of the post-office at Indianola, Miss., because the postmistress, a colored woman, was threatened with violence, have called forth wide discussion throughout the South, and some violent expressions of opinion. In December, in answer to the protests of several citizens of Charleston against the appointment of Dr. Crum, President Roosevelt stated his position in a few words:

> I do not intend to appoint any unfit man to office. So far as I legitimately can, I shall always endeavor to pay regard to the wishes and feelings of the people of each locality, but I cannot consent to take the position that the door of hope—the door of opportunity—is to be shut upon any man, no matter how worthy, purely upon the grounds of race or color. Such an attitude would, according to my convictions, be fundamentally wrong. If, as you hold, the great bulk of the colored people are not yet fit in point of character and influence to hold such positions, it seems to me that it is worth while putting a premium upon the effort among them to achieve the character and standing which will fit them.

The Outlook sees no reason to change its opinion that the President's attitude on

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the general question was right, and one which will commend itself in the long run to the best people of the South. The reaction of the South against the injustice and misery of the reconstruction period was inevitable; and it is not surprising that it has gone so far as to affirm that under no circumstances shall any colored man be elected to hold any office. It is clearly impossible for the President of the United States to accept such a principle as this; to discriminate against the negro simply because he is a negro would be inconsistent, not only with the fundamental principles of the Republican party, but with the fundamental conceptions of a republican government. Mr. Roosevelt, although a man of fortunate conditions as regards social and educational opportunities, is pre-eminently an exponent of the American doctrine that a man shall be treated as a man, no matter what his position, his religion, or his color. To bar a whole race from holding any position under the United States Government is so plainly a flat contradiction of the spirit and principles of that Government that to state the proposition is to refute it.

❀

The Race Question

The race question in the South involves such great difficulties, and demands for its solution so much patience, knowledge of actual conditions, and such far-seeing statesmanship, that it ought to be the policy of the United States Government, as it is certainly now the sentiment of the North, to aid the thoughtful men of the South in their endeavor to put the relations of the two races on grounds of justice, mutual respect, and law. The Outlook is in pronounced sympathy with the best men of the South, who are dealing at first hand with as appalling a problem as any man ever had to face. It believes that these men ought to be aided in every possible way; it recognizes the existence of the inflammable material in many parts of the South which occasionally breaks forth in acts of violence and in incendiary sentiments; and it believes that the Government ought, so far as possible, to co-operate with those men, who are growing in numbers in every State, who are endeavoring to help the negro to better educational and to larger industrial opportunities, leaving to the future the settlement of his political position when he shall have secured a foothold as a citizen. As a rule, a Federal officer ought to be *persona grata* in the community in which he holds office, and there are very few communities in the South in which it would be wise, either for the whites or for the blacks, that a negro should be appointed to a Federal position. There is no inconsistency between the conviction that the United States Government cannot exclude from official position a negro because he is a negro and the conviction that, at present at least, negro appointments in the South ought to be few and made with great good judgment. In the Indianola matter it is difficult to see how the President could have taken any other action; that seems to have been simply a recrudescence of race prejudice in its worst form. Nothing has been urged against the postmistress except the fact that she was a negro. She had held office for some time, and, as far as can be learned, had discharged her duties to the satisfaction of the community; she does not appear to have been in any sense an offensive person. Under these circumstances, the endeavor to drive her out of her position by threats of violence was cowardly and ought to have been met by the President as it has been met; and this, we believe, will be the sentiment of the best people of the South.

❀

Reciprocity Legislation by the "Third House"

One of the most important legislative events in Washington last week took place, not in Congress, but in the parlors rented by the American Beet Sugar Association, where, by a vote of 3 to 2 (or 12 to 2, counting the proxies held by Mr. Oxnard), resolutions were adopted withdrawing opposition to Cuban reciprocity, provided the proposed twenty per cent. reduction in the tariff on Cuban goods is strictly limited to a five-year period. If this limitation is securely pledged them, the Association advises its constituents that they have less to lose from the twenty per cent. reduction than from the continuance of the agitation in favor of helping Cuba. At the same time, however, the Association declares its

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inflexible opposition toward the proposed tariff concession to the Philippines granting the products of the islands a reduction of seventy-five per cent. instead of twenty-five per cent. of the Dingley rates on imports from foreign countries. Although this concession has been sanctioned unanimously by the House, it is feared that the beet-sugar opposition may defeat it in the Senate. The chief obstacle to the adoption of the Cuban reciprocity treaty now lies in the opposition of the cane-sugar Senators from Louisiana. Although more than two-thirds of the Senate are ready to vote for the treaty, a few bitter opponents may keep the vote from being reached at this short session.

❀

The Duty on Coal

The scarcity of coal still continues to be the cause of a great deal of public suffering and inconvenience. Not only are factories being in some cases shut down and in some cases run upon half-time, but it is reported that in some communities coal is being sold to those consumers only who have a physician's prescription—that is to say, those who can prove that the coal is absolutely necessary to preserve health. Some of the transatlantic steamers which sail from the port of New York have been delayed in their departure from lack of coal. There is every indication of a widespread and rapidly increasing demand for the abolition or suspension of all duty on coal for a long enough time at least to relieve the present crisis. The Legislature of Rhode Island has passed a resolution demanding such suspension from Congress. Senator Lodge has introduced a resolution into the Senate, and Representative McCall a bill into the House, providing for the suspension for ninety days of all duty on coal, and for the suspension of duty on Canadian coal beyond that time, provided the Dominion Government shall enter into reciprocity in this respect. The action of the Rhode Island Legislature and of the Massachusetts Senator and Representative makes the question now a non-partisan one; no protectionist, with Rhode Island and Massachusetts earnestly working for the abolition of coal duty, can say that the demand comes simply from those who wish to attack the protective system. Senator Lodge has, we are glad to say, apparently changed his opinion since last autumn, when he opposed free coal on the ground that it would endanger the unity and logic of protection of American industries. The absurdity of saying that a man is protecting himself when he freezes to death because he will not use the coal offered to him by his neighbor would be amusing if it were not exasperating at such a time of public suffering.

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Crimes Against Non-Union Workers

Day after day last week the Coal Commission heard the testimony of a score of non-union workmen who had been the victims of cruelties of every description because they remained at work or went to work after the strike had been declared. The boycotting and assaults testified to before the Commission were in some respects less revolting than the petty persecutions and terrorism from which no physical injury resulted. Take, for instance, the case of Thomas Washaiski, of Hazleton, a clerk for Pardee & Co., who was married on September 16, and whose experiences of that day, as told to the Commission, were summarized in the press despatches as follows:

> On the night of the wedding a small crowd gathered at the Catholic Church, and as the bridal party entered the edifice Washaiski and his bride were called "scabs." Coming out after the ceremony, he was assaulted by the waiting crowd, which had greatly increased. The driver of the carriage was not permitted to take the couple home, and the witness sought refuge in the parochial residence, and the bride was escorted home in a trolley-car by friends. While in the parochial residence the crowd remained in the vicinity, calling the bridegroom vile names and yelling "scab" at the rector of the church because he had performed the ceremony. Later on, the witness said, he managed to get away from the house, and spent the night in the colliery, being afraid to go to his home. The bride spent an anxious night, as some unknown persons came to the house and threw stones at the place.

In one case of assault testified to before the Commission the victim stated that his assailants were two union men, who had been tried and convicted for the crime. Commissioner Parker inquired whether they had been expelled from the union, and the head of the local union, on being brought upon the stand, testified that he did not know whether they had

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been or not, but that the unions and individual strikers had done all in their power to disperse crowds and help keep the peace. Chairman Gray sharply reprimanded the witness for his apparent readiness to wait for convictions by the civil authorities before disciplining his men. "Do you think," he exclaimed, "that you can have effective discipline unless you make investigations yourself and bring the men up and punish them in some way? I ask you, as a member of the order and as a man who would be glad to see your order come up out of the mire and the clouds that are around the baser parts of it into the sunlight and into the air of free government and a free country." This remark of the Chairman stirred Mr. Mitchell, who came to the defense of his union by declaring that the union had no right to expel men for crimes of which they had not been convicted, and protesting against the assumption that the union organization was responsible for the acts it had been unable to restrain. He contended, as had his attorneys, that if the union was on trial for the outrages, there should be some evidence connecting the union with them. Mr. Mitchell at one time took part in the cross-examination of a witness—the Sheriff of Lackawanna County—who testified that the union in several instances had rendered him material help in preserving order. General Wilson, of the Commission, in cross-examining the same witness, brought out the fact that the deputy sheriffs employed were not paid by the county, but by the coal companies. This explanation surprised Chairman Gray, who said most justly: "I am not familiar with such an un-American law. When the county or State relinquishes the duty of maintaining and protecting life and property and keeping the peace, then they are open to criticism." The result of the week's testimony, however, was extremely hurtful to the prestige of the union, which had plainly failed to instill into great numbers of its followers the conviction that it as well as they were discredited by outrages against its opponents. The Outlook believes that the greatest enemy that the trades-unions have to face to-day is not the criminal aggressions of capital, but the criminal acts of their own members.

The Erie Canal In his annual message Governor Odell, of New York, expresses for the first time since his re-election his views regarding the improvement of the Erie Canal. He explicitly reaffirms his "belief in the thousand-ton barge plan." He acknowledges, however, that the plan for the lake route (described in The Outlook for December 20), which he has heretofore favored, is, in the judgment of those who have given the matter study, impracticable. He therefore concludes in favor of the enlargement of the present route, with some variation. Though he thus simplifies the question by putting the weight of his influence on the side of the route which is most generally favored, he introduces a new complication by making an estimate of the cost far in excess of former estimates. He declares that the improvement will involve the expenditure of $255,000,000. If Governor Odell were opposed to all canal improvement, he could have taken no more effectual means to discourage the people of the State from undertaking it than by suggesting the possibility of such enormous expense. It makes the project appear to require a vaster outlay than the Panama Canal. The fact is that this estimate includes interest for fifty years and a twenty per cent. margin for error, and allows also for the deepening of the Champlain Canal to twelve feet. Inasmuch as estimates upon which Governor Odell bases his figures already include a ten per cent. margin for contingencies, and interest for eighteen years, and as the deepening of the Champlain Canal is no essential part of the project, State Engineer Bond's estimate of $123,200,000 seems much nearer the probability than Governor Odell's. At any rate, there is no such reason for dismay at the bigness of the undertaking as the message of Governor Odell would seem to imply.

❀

The Franchise Tax Assailed Apart from his recommendation of a costly canal and his argument against it, the most striking feature of Governor Odell's message is his plan for the abandonment of the franchise tax law adopted under Governor Roosevelt's administration. This law, it will be recalled, simply provided that the value of

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municipal franchises should be assessed like real estate. Governor Odell reports that "some corporations can bear this burden without serious results following. But, as is well known, the continued increase of street railroad traffic and the demands for lighting, water, telephone, and other public utility facilities have perhaps brought into existence many corporations which cannot bear the excessive burden which is now imposed under the present law." In our view, this is as bad reasoning as has often appeared in a Governor's message. The franchise tax imposes no burden upon corporations which merely earn a fair rate of interest on the capital actually invested. In such cases the franchise has given no additional value to their property, and the tax upon it amounts to nothing. It is only where the franchise gives to the securities of a corporation a market value far in excess of the capital invested that the franchise tax becomes important. To say that any corporation cannot afford to pay taxes upon the surplus value given to its property by public privilege is preposterous. The argument, furthermore, is made worse by the lines calling attention to the recent great increase in the demand of the public for the services of municipal monopolies. Had there been a decrease in these demands, there would have been an argument for tax reduction, but the increase is an argument for increased taxation. The Governor's argument that the franchise tax will yield less than anticipated does not affect the justice of the law, and only further weakens the force of his protest against the burdensomeness of the new law. The Governor's argument that the State, and not the municipality, ought to receive the tax on the value from municipal franchises only needs to be stated to expose its weakness. His final contention, however, that taxes on the earnings of municipal monopolies would be fairer than the tax on the value of their property does demand a word of comment. Taxes on earnings cripple corporations not yet paying their running expenses, and place unjust burdens upon new enterprises. Taxes on market values fall but lightly upon corporations making small profits, and rest chiefly upon those holding monopoly privileges. Furthermore, and finally, the assessment of market values is the method applied in the taxation of the property of individuals, and all who care for equal taxation wish the same method applied to the taxation of corporations. It is greatly to be regretted that Governor Odell's disappointing recommendations upon canals and taxation have practically withdrawn public attention from his excellent recommendation of legislation against combinations to prevent enlistments in the National Guard. Such combinations are clearly against public policy, and combinations against public policy, whether of labor or capital, should be prohibited by the public.

❀

"Catering to the Better Element"

The municipal situations in the several important cities of Pennsylvania present, as usual, some extraordinary features. In Philadelphia the Republican machine, after four years of almost uninterrupted victories, has made an important and unexpected concession to public opinion in the proposed nomination of District Attorney John Weaver for Mayor, who has more than met reasonable expectation in the discharge of his duties and has earned the commendation of the independents. It seems strange, but it is none the less true, that the Republican party organization in Philadelphia should be able to make a nomination for Mayor which the Municipal League would support; and yet this is just what has happened. The League has decided to recommend that if District Attorney Weaver shall be made the Republican candidate for the Mayoralty, he should be supported by the Municipal League. In making this recommendation it was declared that the League was not unmindful of the fact that Mr. Weaver's nomination will be due to methods and influences which are radically wrong. It is manifest, however, that under existing conditions in Philadelphia an attempt to oppose the candidate on this ground alone would be unwise. Mr. Weaver has made an admirable record as an honest and energetic District Attorney, and this is certainly a reason for believing that as Mayor of Philadelphia he will appreciate his splendid opportunities to redeem the character of the city government by securing the enforcement of the laws and protecting the interests of

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the citizens. In Pittsburg the defeat last fall of the reformers and honest Democrats has led to the revival of the old Municipal League, which will make a strong effort to redeem the city from the hands of both groups of spoilsmen. In Harrisburg, where so great an advance was scored a year ago, the Municipal League proposes to make an active fight for the election of decent men, as it finds that many of the regular party men who sailed into office in the reform tide have lost their keen interest in the Municipal League end of it and are more concerned in playing politics. In the meantime, against rather heavy odds, Mayor Vance McCormick is making commendable progress, rooting out old abuses and establishing the city's affairs on what may be called a business basis.

❀

Praxedes Mateo Sagasta

Last week Spain suffered the loss of one who, since the death of Cánovas del Castillo, has, not without justice, been called the one great Spanish statesman. Praxedes Mateo Sagasta was a Castilian; he was born seventy-five years ago, and was educated as an engineer, but he early turned to politics as a life-work. In 1854 he was elected to the Cortes, or Parliament, but, on account of his part in the insurrection two years later, was obliged to take refuge in France. When he was allowed to go back to Spain, he returned temporarily to his old profession and became Professor in the Madrid School of Engineering, at the same time editing the radical-progressive "Iberia." In this latter capacity he continued his bold proclamation of Liberal principles, thereby bringing himself into disfavor with the Ministers of Isabella II. During the insurrection of 1866 he was again obliged to flee to France, but, on the overthrow of the despotic Queen (1868), returned to Spain, and, the constitutional guarantees being suspended, when General Prim formed a provisional government, Sagasta, as Prim's "familiar spirit," was appointed Minister of Public Works, subsequently becoming Minister of the Interior, and finally Minister of Foreign Affairs, acting in the last-named capacity throughout the critical year of 1870. Colonel John Hay, now Secretary of State at Washington, was then an attaché of our Legation at Madrid, and thus describes Sagasta:

> He has a dark, wrinkled face, small, bright eyes, the smile and scowl of Mephistopheles. He is a most vigorous and energetic speaker, but so aggressive and pungent in his style that he rarely fails to raise a tempest in the languid House when he speaks at any length. He has a hearty contempt for the people and a firm reliance in himself—two important elements of success for a Latin statesman.

On the accession of Amadeus of Aosta, in 1871, Sagasta entered the new Cabinet, an indication that by this time his radicalism had become cooled. He certainly became the antagonist of Ruiz Zorilla, that radical of radicals; the latter's election to the presidency of the Cortes was a bitter pill to Sagasta, forcing his resignation from the recently assumed Premiership. Amadeus refused to accept the resignation, however, and the Cortes was dissolved. In the subsequent elections the Ministry obtained a large majority, it is true, but Zorilla succeeded so well in showing that the elections were secured by corrupt practices that, after a few months, the Premier was again driven from power. When, in 1873, Spain found herself again a republic, Sagasta was once more Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister, and remained so until the accession of Alfonso XII., a year later. The Premier who had served Marshal Serrano would not give his adhesion to the new régime until the King, who was destined to reign eleven years, had been six months on the throne. In 1881 Sagasta and Martinos Campos organized the present Liberal party, which overthrew the Conservatives and came into power. From this time forward Spain knew many vacillations between Conservative and Liberal Cabinets, which were invariably headed now by Cánovas, now by Sagasta.

❀

Sagasta and America

The Spanish Cabinet change of 1897 seemed the most important of all; it proclaimed Spain's last effort to retain (and now by a broad policy which might have been successful earlier) her hold upon her colonies in general, and upon Cuba in particular. Sagasta assumed the Premiership on the distinct policy of the pacification of Cuba through autonomy—a policy opposed, not

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only by all the Spanish Conservatives, but even by many Spanish Liberals. The Premier's first act was to recall General Weyler, the infamous "butcher" Captain-General of Cuba, and to appoint as his successor the humaner and high-minded General Blanco; but in everything Sagasta left no opportunity unexhausted to avert the coming war. Even he was powerless in the matter; and when the Manila disaster capped the climax, he was forced to resign. The sympathies of the courageous Queen Regent, however, were firmly enlisted upon his side; and, largely through her aid, Sagasta was successful in forming a new Cabinet. He now abandoned his former temporizing tactics and declared that the war should be fought to the bitter end, though he knew better than any one that from the start Spain's cause was hopeless. When the war was over, perhaps the most difficult problems ever faced by any statesman had to be met by the Spanish Premier. It is true that he was helped by the surprisingly phlegmatic national spirit in the face of the loss of tens of thousands of men and of vast colonial possessions. But he met each new perplexity with such calmness, courage, and straightforwardness that his Cabinet actually lasted for months after the close of the war. In 1901 a threatened Carlist insurrection led to the downfall of the Conservatives, and Sagasta was again called to power as the one man under whose influence the army would remain loyal to the Alfonsist monarchy. In this task Sagasta's success was brilliant; and he himself had the satisfaction of completing his long and devoted service to the Queen Regent by insuring the peaceful accession to the throne of her young son, the present King. Sagasta remained as Premier during most of the first year of the new reign, everywhere consolidating the power of the actual monarchy. It is believed that the admirable Queen Regent herself could not have preserved the succession to her son during his minority if it had not been for the unswerving loyalty of the great Liberal statesman. Personally Sagasta was rather un-Spanish; he was unarrogant, uneloquent, ungraceful. If his apparently Mephistophelian subtlety was everywhere acknowledged, so also was his personal honesty, no matter how he may have winked at official corruption. He lived simply and died poor—a striking comment upon the integrity which had distinguished a long record of opportunities for private gain irresistibly tempting to men of weaker fiber.

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The Irish Land Question The vexed Irish land question has apparently advanced a long step towards solution through the report of the Land Conference which was recently arranged by the Earl of Dunraven and other landlords on the one hand, and, on the other, by Messrs. Russell (Independent), and Redmond, O'Brien, and Harrington (Nationalists), on behalf of the tenants. The Conference received encouragement from Mr. Wyndham, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and, it is understood, from King Edward himself. It would seem as if the Committee represented irreconcilable views; but, according to its just published report, it has made a *unanimous* declaration concerning future governmental aid in Ireland. The unanimity of this recommendation, rather than the terms of the recommendation itself, gives hope, such as has not been cherished before, for future peace and good will in what has often seemed to us an unnecessarily unhappy isle. Indeed, it is safe to say that the unanimous agreement on the land question by representatives of landlords and tenants is the most notable event that has occurred in Ireland for generations. The report even meets the approval of extreme Tory landlords in Ireland—the Duke of Abercorn, the Marquis of Londonderry, Lords Clonbrock and Barrymore, for instance, who at the outset apparently discountenanced the Committee, undoubtedly because they thought that no permanent settlement could be reached, as they considered their estates worth more than the tenants could afford to pay. The rental to be dealt with is no less than $25,000,000. According to the report, the proposed settlement would be on lines of voluntary purchase rather than compulsory sale, and would substitute a reduced installment of purchase-money for rent. In order to accomplish the aims of the Committee, the amount which the Imperial Government would have to pay would be about $3,000,000 a year. The question, there-

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fore, is: Will the British Treasury officials continue their rather haggling policy as regards Irish matters, or will they institute a broader-gauge system? To insure loyalty the Irish demand generous treatment, if for no other reason than that they are a generous, if hitherto improvident, people. Statistics, however, show that they have been less improvident during the years which have elapsed since the passing of the Gladstone Land Act of 1881. It is believed that public sentiment in the United Kingdom, once convinced that permanency of settlement might be reached, by legislation following the encouraging agreement just noted, might force the Treasury's unwilling hand. The unanimous recommendation, therefore, will at least enable the Chief Secretary for Ireland to introduce an Irish land bill into Parliament at its next session. It should be the chief Government measure of that session.

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The Dardanelles Last week the British Government protested to the Turkish Government against the permission recently granted to four unarmed Russian torpedo-boat destroyers to pass through the Dardanelles to the Black Sea under the Russian commercial flag. The British note declares that such a passage of the Dardanelles was a violation of existing international treaties, and adds that if Russia is allowed to send war-ships into the Mediterranean Great Britain will reserve the right to demand that British battle-ships may be sent into the Black Sea. The treaties of 1856 and 1871 provide for the closing of the Dardanelles to war vessels of all countries. The present is not the first violation. Russia has more than once smuggled war-craft through the straits under the guise of harmless merchantmen or transports carrying home time-expired troops. The Russian Government can hardly seriously maintain that a vessel of war entirely changes its character by merely dropping its armament and raising a commercial flag. As, under treaty, England would be allowed to send war-ships to the Black Sea if Russia is permitted to despatch her vessels into the Mediterranean, the protest from the British Government caused considerable irritation in Russian circles, and also some concern on the part of the Turkish authorities, who feared that other Powers might follow the example of Great Britain. The other Power most feared by Turkey would be Germany, and hence there was considerable relief at Constantinople at a non-official announcement later in the week at Berlin that Germany does not propose to associate herself with Great Britain's protest, on the ground that the Berlin Government "considered the Dardanelles equally with the whole of the Mediterranean as outside its sphere of politics." This statement may be only a temporary expedient on the part of William II. He is aware as well as any one that he is not only German Emperor but King of Prussia, which, as a member of the North German Federation, was a signatory of the Treaty of Paris in 1856. While the recent passage of the Dardanelles may not amount to any more than previous evasions of the law, under present conditions it has been an event of sufficient import to compel a decline in English consols, financiers fearing the phantom of possible international complications. The incident, they think, may not be wholly unconnected with Balkan complications, especially with the expected insurrection in Macedonia next spring.

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The New German Tariff By a summary use of closure, the German Government has forced its tariff bill through Parliament, or rather it has forced a tariff measure upon the German people, more drastic and unworkable than was the measure originally proposed. That bill was due to the insistence of the Junkers or Agrarians in Parliament, and the Government's support was popularly supposed to be paid for by a return support from all agriculturists concerning certain governmental undertakings. If the original bill was unwelcome to the entire manufacturing element in Germany, the measure just passed is still more unwelcome. The coalition which has rallied to its support and defeated the Liberals by a vote of two to one has provoked sharp criticisms. Perhaps the most noticeable has come from the venerable Theodor Mommsen, who for many years has commanded world-wide respect, not only on

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account of his History—now a classic—of Rome, but also because he has been regarded as an authority on the history of constitutional development. Professor Mommsen differs from some German scholars in being as fearless in expressing his opinions as he is erudite in forming them. Germans have not forgotten the day when Bismarck caused him and the lamented Georg von Bunsen to be excluded from the Reichstag on account of their courageous strictures upon the Iron Chancellor's autocratic policy. Professor Mommsen calls attention to the peril of continuing any alliance between the Agrarians and the Roman Catholic party of the Center, as under this alliance Germany stands in danger of a renewal of the old feudal régime. The country may again be dominated by the great landowners and nobles acting in harmony with the ecclesiastics. In this event the Constitution itself would be endangered; "its overthrow is rapidly progressing," says Professor Mommsen. In these very modern and progressive times it seems almost impossible that a Junker domination—in other words, an aristocratic absolutism—could long obtain in Germany. Already the new tariff measure has exercised a depressing effect on German commerce and industry. Far from being discouraged by the passage of the bill, the Socialists in Parliament, who were its chief opponents, feel that the measure can endure only for a short time. It would seem improbable that any reactionary agrarian coalition could stand for many years in the path of the progress of manufacturing Germany, importing every year $300,000,000 worth of manufactured products, nearly $500,000,000 worth of foodstuffs, and about $700,000,000 worth of raw material for factory use. A tariff war is not a pleasant thing to contemplate anywhere, but of all protection countries Germany can thus least afford to provoke it.

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The New Archbishop of Canterbury

Last week the Rt. Rev. Randall Thomas Davidson, D.D., Bishop of Winchester, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury to succeed the late Most Rev. Frederick Temple, D.D., who died in December. The new Archbishop is a comparatively young man, but has served a capital apprenticeship for the exalted office to which he has been called; he was born in 1848, and is a son of Henry Davidson, of Edinburgh. He was graduated at Trinity College, Oxford, and for some years served as curate at Dartford, Kent. For the five years following he was chaplain and private secretary to Archbishop Tait, of Canterbury, whose daughter he married. He made the principal arrangements for the great Lambeth Conference of one hundred bishops in 1878, and is consequently well known to the prelates of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country. He was also chaplain and private secretary to Archbishop Benson. This was followed by his appointment as Examining Chaplain to Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham. During these years he was also one of the six preachers of Canterbury Cathedral; and in 1883 became Dean of Windsor and Domestic Chaplain to the Queen. He was Secretary of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, and afterwards published a history of the Lambeth Conferences. In 1891 he was appointed Bishop of Rochester and Clerk of the Closet in Ordinary to the Queen (in this capacity he ministered to the venerable monarch in her last moments), and in 1895, on Dr. Thorold's death, Bishop of Winchester. During and since his years at Windsor Dr. Davidson has been intimately connected with the Court; he was a close friend of the late Queen, and is one of the recognized advisers of the present King. On the death of Dr. Benson the Archbishopric was offered to Dr. Davidson, but his health at that time was precarious, and he was obliged to decline it. Personally courtly and urbane, the new Archbishop is popular, not only with the Court, but with the people. Unlike Dr. Temple's, his experience has been gained wholly within the Church; like Dr. Temple, he is an ardent temperance reformer as well as a great administrator. His quality of mind is well shown in the admirable biography of Archbishop Tait, his father-in-law, published in 1891. Although Dr. Davidson has been classed as "Broad-Church Evangelical," English Churchmen of whatever party feel sincere satisfaction with his appointment—by far the most important ecclesiastical preferment which Mr. Balfour, the new Premier, has been called upon to recommend.

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A Beecher Memorial It is proposed by Plymouth Church of Brooklyn to erect a building which shall stand as a memorial to Henry Ward Beecher. The idea of this memorial originated with Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, the present pastor of the church, who is working with energy and enthusiasm for its development. Dr. Hillis proposes a Memorial Building that shall be a mausoleum, where objects associated with Mr. Beecher, such as his manuscripts and works of art illustrating his life, shall be kept and displayed. A fund has already been started to provide for this memorial, and a committee of the church has been selected to carry on the work of raising funds and creating public interest. Contributions should be sent to Theodore Miller, President of the Brooklyn Trust Company, Brooklyn, N. Y., who is treasurer of the fund. This suggestion to erect a building which shall stand at once as a mausoleum to contain the body of Henry Ward Beecher, and as a shrine in which all the objects associated with his life shall be preserved, springs out of a natural desire to commemorate one of the most important men in the history of the country; a man whose influence in the support of the idea of nationality and freedom was a large factor in the crisis of the Civil War, and whose eloquent exposition of faith in a God of love was far-reaching in breaking the bondage of the fear of a God of wrath. With the animating purpose of this memorial of Mr. Beecher The Outlook is in profound sympathy, but the matter is too important to let the question of details go by without consideration and perhaps discussion. Memorials ought in all cases to harmonize with the genius and spirit of the man whom they commemorate, and the question as to what is the best form which a memorial to Mr. Beecher could take is one not merely of interest to his church and his personal friends, but to the public at large. It is worth while asking at this stage whether a memorial of Mr. Beecher's great services to the country should not take what might be called a vital form, should not be given the shape of perpetual beneficence to the unfortunate, the struggling, those who have to fight against adverse conditions. Mr. Beecher was pre-eminently an apostle of freedom in religion, in public life, in the individual character. We hope the memorial fund will be raised generously and quickly. But when it is raised, we believe it should be so expended as to express, in the most permanent and concrete form, the spirit which actuated Mr. Beecher in his service to his church, to his country, and to his race.

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The Methodist Twentieth-Century Fund With the close of the year 1902 the Twentieth-Century Thank-Offering Movement of the Methodist Episcopal Church came to a termination. In various parts of the country meetings were held on the evening of December 31 commemorative of the movement, and partaking largely of the aspect of a jubilee over the successful accomplishment of the work as outlined by the Board of Bishops of that Church in their first announcement of the Twentieth-Century Movement four years ago. Dr. Edmund M. Mills, the Corresponding Secretary of the Commission having the movement in charge, has made a report covering several of the principal causes for which the funds were contributed. The gifts to universities and colleges amount to $6,932,783; to theological seminaries, $85,730; to institutions for secondary education, $1,132,100; making a total for education of $8,150,613. Dr. Mills reports as the amount subscribed toward debts on church property, $9,003,596; toward philanthropies and charities, $2,519,761; toward a permanent fund for the superannuated ministers of the Church, $604,000; toward churches in destitute communities, $379,000. This makes a grand total of $20,656,970. It should be stated that this vast sum does not represent the whole amount raised under the terms of the movement. Several large gifts in addition to those recorded by Dr. Mills have been made, but are not in his tabulation because not officially reported; but it is quite within bounds to say that the final total will exceed the required amount by a million and a half dollars. Among the educational institutions which received large contributions are Syracuse University, $1,203,800; Ohio Wesleyan University, $1,092,806; American University, $525,000; Cornell College, $405,000; Allegheny College, $310,000; Wes-

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leyan University, $287,000; Boston University, $260,000; Hamline University, $250,000; Woman's College of Baltimore, $244,000; University of Southern California, $240,000; University of Denver, $205,000. The fund for the benefit of the superannuated ministers, which, according to Dr. Mills's report, amounts to $604,000, will be greatly increased when all the returns have been collated; indeed, it is quite likely that a special effort will be made to increase this fund to $5,000,000. Although the Methodist Episcopal Church has contributed over $20,000,000 during the last four years on the basis of the Twentieth-Century Thank-Offering Movement, it has also increased its contributions to its various benevolent enterprises and maintained its financial standing in every respect. It was one of the conditions of the Twentieth-Century Movement that the contributions to this fund should be over and above the contributions to all the general causes of the denomination.

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A Congregational Encyclical

The National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States is not a legislative assembly, but simply a voluntary organization composed of representatives from local churches. It holds a triennial meeting, collects and publishes statistics, and performs other services that require united action. The Moderator of the Council has no authority over the churches. He is nevertheless in some respects for the time being the most eminent of Congregationalists, because he is peculiarly "the servant of all." As no other man, he can speak as the representative of the churches of his order. The present Moderator, Dr. Amory H. Bradford, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Montclair, N. J., is especially fitted for his position by his deep-set belief in Congregational principles. He is temperamentally, as well as officially, a representative of Congregationalism. He has just sent out his annual letter to the churches. Coming from one who has double reason for sturdily upholding the independence of the local church, this letter is significant for the stress it lays upon the need of co-operation and unity. Even in matters which are of interest chiefly to Congregationalists, this letter gives emphatic place to recommendations of increased consolidation: specifically, plans of developing fellowship among the churches, of unifying the administration of the missionary societies, and of centralizing, at least in State associations, the system for supplying churches with pastors and the undertaking to pension aged or invalided ministers. In matters of wider import Dr. Bradford's suggestions are of the same import. Looking to the far-off unification of Christendom, he sees it being brought nearer by means of federation. This method of organization he commends because it insures liberty, exalts the essentials in religion, is simple in operation, and it centers attention upon social righteousness. In keeping with this plan for Christian unity is his urgent exhortation to the churches to give heed to the task of bringing about a healthful social order. In doing this he bids them exalt the faith in human brotherhood. "The greatest contribution which the Church can make toward the solution of the social problem is to exhibit a society in which the rich and strong actually do seek to serve the weak and not to please themselves, and in which the poor love those for whom they labor with the very love which was in Christ." He sees "prophecies of spiritual renewal" in the fact that science is bringing nearer "unseen realities," that men are feeling the closeness of human relationships more than ever, and that there is "a growing passion for reality" which, though occasionally leading to temporary defections from the Church, "far more frequently leads to a hitherto unknown appreciation of its spiritual mission." This suggests the type of the coming revival, which will be a more vivid realization of the fatherhood of God on which the brotherhood of men depends. To promote the realization of God, he suggests special meditation and meetings during the coming Lenten season. From the man who more than any one else in America has the right to represent those churches which have insisted, and still insist, upon the independence of the local church and upon the sufficiency of simple forms of worship, these recommendations towards unity and an observance of the church year indicate in a peculiarly striking way the fact that church bodies are becoming less than ever

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content with one-sided conceptions of religious life.

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The Trust Problem
Natural Laws

There is one objection made to any anti-trust legislation which, if sound, would call for the repeal of all existing statutes on that subject and a cessation of all attempts at legislative control, regulation, or influence. It is expressed by the sentence, "Business should be left to the operation of natural laws." We suppose the proposition is specious or it would not be used. But it is to us a matter for surprise that it deceives any one.

No doubt there is always a danger of unwise interference with natural laws; of such an attempt to regulate as will be injurious, not beneficial, to the community; of a control that may become despotic and so both unjust and disastrous. No doubt great wisdom and great care should be exercised in regulating trade and commerce; no doubt individual liberty should be maintained as far as it can be made consistent with the public welfare; no doubt the more we can make the private conscience, enforced by public opinion, efficacious, and the less we have to resort to governmental authority, the better. All this may be and is true. But the notion that remedy for industrial ills can be found by a do-nothing policy, in the faith that natural law will bring about universal justice and will promote the common welfare, appears to us to ignore the self-evident facts of modern industrial life.

A man on a higher level builds a dam across the stream which irrigates his neighbor's grounds, and diverts the water to his own uses. His neighbor complains of the water famine which destroys the fertility of his land. The dam-builder replies, "Law must not interfere. You must leave natural law to take its course." The reply is not far to seek. The dam-builder does not leave natural law to take its course. By building the dam he has himself interfered with the course of natural law. What he really means, whether he is conscious of it or not, is this: "I must have a right to interfere with natural law, and you, my neighbor, must not. You must not interfere with my interference." And this is exactly what is meant by the plea that natural law must be left to take its course without legislative interference, when that plea is put forth by the advocates of trusts, monopolies, and combines.

When natural law ruled in this continent, the North American Indians blazed pathways through the forests, and when any one of them wished to travel, he put his goods upon his back, or upon his wife's back, and took what path he pleased, when he pleased, and traveled at what rate he pleased. When civilization took possession of the continent, one of the things it did was to create by law an artificial person called a railroad corporation; to this artificial person it gave the right to take the real estate of A and B and C, through the whole alphabet many times repeated, whether A and B and C wished to sell or not, and to pay them, not what price they asked, but whatever price a disinterested tribunal put upon the land. And so, by a most direct and positive interference with natural law, a public highway was constructed by which individuals and goods could be more conveniently carried than in packs upon the back of the traveler along a blazed pathway through the forest. Society created this artificial person, and conferred upon this person this artificial power, because it rightly believed that thus the public interests would be promoted and the public welfare advanced. Now that it finds this power unjustly used, not for the equal service of all, but for enriching one and impoverishing another, and it proposes to require this artificial person to use this artificial power for the benefit of the public and not for its injury, what sense is there in crying out against the requirement on the ground that government should leave transportation to the operation of natural law. It is not left to the operation of natural law. It is carried on by artificial organizations created by law and equipped with artificial power by law. And it is eminently right that society, which has created and empowered the corporations to serve the community, should require them to render the service for which they were created. Otherwise the corporation becomes the iron despot of the Frankenstein who has created it.

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There are stored up in the hills of Pennsylvania great masses of coal. Under the operation of natural law any man might go to these hills, put in his pick, and dig out what coal he needed for his fuel, as the North American Indian cut down in the forest whatever wood he needed for his fuel. But civilization cannot go on under the operation of natural law. So, by a complicated artificial system, we have given the ownership of these lands to individuals; we have given the ownership of the top of the soil to one set of individuals, and ownership of the underground mines to another set of individuals. Their right to the soil depends wholly upon the artificial arrangements which society has made. Society determines what they may own, how far down they may own, for how long a time they may own, under what conditions they may own. In England the owner may control the land for an indefinite period after his death. In America he can control it for only two lives. In France he must divide it in a certain fixed proportion among his children. This individual proprietary right in land is wholly an artificial right, created by statute, controlled and regulated by statute. And it has been so created and regulated because society thinks this is the best method for the promotion of the general interests of society. And now, when the owners of these coal lands combine and charge extortionate prices for the fuel which they did not create, and their right to control which is wholly an artificial right created by society, to aver that society's power to regulate and control has been exhausted, and that it cannot go on and compel the owners whose right in the coal it has created to use these rights in subordination to the public right to fuel, is to affirm that society may create rights which it is powerless to regulate after it has created them, that it may interfere with natural laws just far enough to give to a dozen operators a monopoly in a fuel necessary to human well-being, if not to human life, but may not interfere when interference becomes necessary to prevent individual greed from inflicting untold disaster on the general public. As we are writing this article the daily press is reporting the Congressional investigation into the cause of the extortionate prices charged for coal, which have produced untold suffering and in one or two cases, as reported, death. From one account of this investigation we quote the following sentence:

> There was considerable feeling manifested between the dealers who were members of the local association and those who were not. One who would not join the association declared emphatically that the Reading company was holding up its supply of coal, and furnishing transportation facilities to the independent operators for the purpose of allowing them to charge exorbitant prices for their product, and then divide the swag with the Reading.

We do not affirm that this is true; but we do affirm that the people have a right to ascertain whether it is true or not; and, if it is true, they have a right promptly to put an end to such a despotic use by a corporation of powers which have been conferred upon it by the people.

Civilization is not the product of natural laws operating without human intervention. It is the product of natural laws employed by man for man's benefit. Natural law does not make a locomotive or a dynamo. Man, understanding natural law, and using it for his purposes, makes the locomotive and the dynamo, and by means of them causes steam and electricity to do what he wishes them to do. He possesses power to use natural forces to accomplish predetermined ends. He possesses the same power to use intellectual and moral forces to predetermined ends. By this capacity he has built the locomotive, the dynamo, the stationary engine. By this capacity he has built up the State, the Church, the school, the various industrial organizations. This capacity distinguishes him from the beasts. To forego this capacity and leave natural law to work out its results unmodified by human volition would be to go back to barbarism, nay, to the pre-human conditions of the field and the forest. To stop in the use of this intelligence when it has gone far enough to serve the few who are well and strong, and not far enough to serve the many, would be simply to perpetuate in a new form that aristocracy against which democracy in government, education, and religion is a revolt. In attempting to make natural law serve, not the favored few, but all the people, democracy will make mistakes; it will attempt unsuccessful experiments; it will meet with failures;

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and it will be obstructed by some who think that nothing can be but what has been, and by others who, having the larger share of the world's wealth and power, object to any further distribution of either. But we greatly mistake the temper of the American people if this movement so to use natural laws, so to administer natural forces—both physical and moral—as to serve the welfare of the entire people, can be permanently either halted or diverted by the unspecious plea that natural law is not to be directed to wise and profitable ends by human intelligence and human wills.

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Southern Education

The meeting held in Carnegie Hall, in this city, on Friday evening of last week, in behalf of the General and the Southern Education Boards, was attended by a very influential and deeply interested audience; for the work of these two Boards is being rapidly recognized in all parts of the country as being not only educational in the technical sense, but as having the most fruitful relations to the public life of the United States. Dr. Adler used a very happy phrase when he described the work of the two Boards as "unofficial statesmanship." Speeches were made by President Dabney, of the University of Tennessee, who made a careful and extremely lucid statement of the school situation in the South; by President Alderman, of Tulane University; by Dr. C. D. McIver, President of the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial School; by Mr. William H. Baldwin, Jr., and by Mr. Morris K. Jesup. The three Southern men among the speakers are among the foremost educational leaders of the South; and it is not invidious to rank them among the foremost statesmen of the South to-day. The phrase "educational statesmen," which has been applied to Governor Aycock, of North Carolina, and to Governor Montague, of Virginia, indicates the place which the educational question has come to have in many parts of the South, and is suggestive of that broader conception of public life to which events in this country are fast educating men of all sections. So important in its fundamental bearings upon the public life of the country is the educational movement in the South that Mr. Michael Sadler, an Englishman who speaks with authority on educational matters, was justified in saying, a few months ago, "It is a work which is not merely national, but international, in character."

The General Education Board, which has its central office in this city, is devoting itself to the rural schools of the South, acting as an agency for the beneficence of private individuals, selecting schools which need aid, co-operating with local generosity, and making a thorough survey of the rural school system throughout all parts of the South. The Southern Board, on the other hand, is carrying on a vigorous educational propaganda, striving everywhere to create throughout the South a general interest in education, and to persuade people to acquiesce in a heavier taxation to build up educational systems. The campaign has been thoroughly planned, for both Boards are under the management of men who are not only enthusiastic in their devotion to the cause they have at heart, but eminently practical, and who know at first hand the field in which they are working. Under the direction of the General Board three State conferences have already been held in North Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia; similar conferences have been arranged for in Florida, Alabama, and Virginia. In these conferences the most progressive men in the different States are brought together, the work and purpose of the Board explained, and the problems connected with educational work, such as taxation, consolidation of school districts, the beautifying of school-houses, negro education, and all matters relating to rural schools, presented by men who have thorough command of the subject. A model school for negroes has been established near Athens, and summer schools for negro teachers at Hampton and Tuskegee. The Board has co-operated with three summer schools for white teachers, and has given aid in different amounts to normal schools in various parts of the South. Never, perhaps, in the history of the country has so large a movement been so thoroughly organized, so well directed, and accomplished so much in so brief a period. A vast amount of information relating to educational conditions in all

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parts of the South has been collected; and the Board is in a position to do its work with increasing intelligence and efficiency.

The work is a National one, although its field is in the Southern States. The generosity and sacrifice of the South for education, taking into account the limited resources of the Southern people during the last twenty years, are just beginning to be understood at the North, and wherever understood are evoking a response which is a practical recognition of what is due to a people who have put forth heroic efforts to rebuild their social structure, and who are struggling with problems of appalling magnitude. Those who know the history of the South since the war are filled with admiration for the quiet courage, the undaunted energy, and the heroic patience with which that section has been working out its industrial and social reorganization. In no other movement has the enthusiasm, what may be called the gallantry, of the Southern character been more strikingly indicated than in the educational movement. A story of that movement is already a record of individual self-denial and heroic self-sacrifice; if it could be told in terms of personal experience, it would awaken the admiration of the whole Nation. Among the men who are leading the South to-day in this new era of its development, there are none better deserving the confidence and admiration of the Nation than men like President Alderman, President Dabney, and Dr. McIver. The million dollars given by Mr. Rockefeller for the work of the General Education Board makes it possible for that Board to spend a hundred thousand dollars each year for the next decade; but, as Mr. Baldwin declared at the meeting, this "is but a drop in the bucket. The trustees of this fund believe that every dollar expended in education in the South is a good investment, and they are going to ask the people of this whole country to make such an investment. We have provided a business organization composed of men every one of whose names is a household word—men whom you can trust—who are to manage this money in the best possible way, and it is to this board that we are going to ask the public to intrust funds for this great purpose."

A Significant Novel

Those who keep in touch with the life, not of a section, but of the country as a whole, and are sensitive to the stirrings of the spirit over the length and breadth of the continent, have felt for several years past that we are approaching another and more comprehensive expression of American life in books. One of the results of the journalistic treatment of literature, now so prevalent, is the attempt to take account of stock every week and to measure accurately the rise and fall of the tide of creative power from year to year. In the nature of things this is impossible; but the fact that it is impossible does not deter a great many people from pronouncing final judgments on literary conditions and prospects. When the tide recedes, these critics are sure that the artistic impulse in America has spent itself, or that the country has ceased to produce the material of which art is made. They are confident that commercialism, or the practical spirit, or the decay of the love of the beautiful, or absorption in material activities, has drained the springs of inspiration, and that nothing can be hoped from America in the future except a civilization which is content to work with its hands and leave other civilizations to work with the soul.

Nothing could be more short-sighted or lacking in the historical spirit than these predictions. Again and again in literary history the rise and the fall of the tide of creative power have left their marks; again and again, when the vital force which blossoms in every art has receded and left the earth bare and bleak, it has come back with a rush and sweep unknown before, while the elegists were chanting its funeral dirges. No one can feel deeply the tremendous forces which are at work in the life of this country to-day without being confident that, sooner or later, those forces will find their expression in literature. Such a tide of energy as that which has been steadily mounting since the Civil War cannot find utterance for itself in material activities. Sooner or later, it reaches the higher levels of the soul, and intensity of action is translated by men of genius into intensity of aspiration.

At the very time when the press

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finds it difficult to keep the record of the material growth of the country, so rapid and so vast is it, there has come and gone a man with the original insight, the profound sympathy, the touch with his kind, which are the prime elements of power in a great man of letters. It is easy to overestimate the significance of a writer, like Frank Norris, who dies at the very beginning of his career; and it is too soon to pass final judgment upon the work which he has left; but it must be quite clear, even to those who differ widely from the young novelist in his methods and his point of view, that the author of "The Octopus" and "The Pit" brought to the study of American life that power of looking beneath the surface, of touching the great realities, of seeing the dramatic and ethical aspects of contemporary movements, which constitute original force in literature. While other men were saying that there can be no poetry or romance in a country so engrossed in business affairs, so absorbed in gigantic practical enterprises, Frank Norris fastened upon one of the most engrossing, colossal, and in a sense tyrannical of these activities, saw how every great outgoing of energy relates itself to many forms of life, and how impossible it is for men to work lavishly and with sublime forgetfulness with their hands without engaging their souls; and, equipped with this insight, guided by this sympathy, Norris was artist enough to seize the dramatic aspects of the raising of wheat, its transportation, and its final distribution. It was an immense theme, demanding the energy of a Zola and the genius of a Tolstoï.

It is not surprising that a man who died at thirty-two should not have shown a complete mastery of his material, and should have failed perfectly to coordinate all the parts of his great design. What is significant is the fact that he saw under the surface of American life the deep and inexhaustible human interest; and that he had the genius to recognize the epical quality, not of life in Russia or in France, but on the wheat-fields of the Far West and in the exchange in Chicago.

That he had the faults of a young writer is clear enough. "McTeague" was the book of a very young man, who could not discriminate clearly between what was essential and what was non-essential, and, in his attempt to tell the truth as he saw it, was willing to drag in incidents which were not only disagreeable but absurdly out of place in any formal study of character. The book was significant, not as a finished piece of art, nor as a faultless piece of workmanship, but as disclosing a determination to see things as they are, and to deal with them, not only from first-hand knowledge, but with first-hand directness and power. When "The Octopus" appeared, it registered an immense advance on all its predecessors. It was far from being a finished piece of work. The influence of Zola was evident on almost every chapter; it lacked concentration; there were departures from good taste in it, and there was lack of restraint; but, on the other hand, there were the tread and swing of a powerful man, exploring, with open mind and heart, a great new field.

The second story in the trilogy which Norris planned shows a still greater advance on the work which preceded it. There are signs of immaturity in "The Pit." The lighter phases of life with which it deals are not always touched with a light hand; Norris had still much to learn in the delicate art of social portraiture. But in the handling of his main theme "The Pit" shows the touch of a master. There is a current in the story which is almost irresistible, and which mounts at times to the height of a flood. Such power is not common anywhere in the literature of the world, and it has very rarely appeared in this country. No such searching study of the absorbing, tyrannical, destructive fascination of speculation has ever before appeared. In its vivid description of relentless energy, made up of a thousand details, each one of which contributes to the impressiveness of the general effect, one is no longer reminded of Zola, from whose influence Norris had evidently broken away, but of Balzac. There is no imitation of the method of the older writer on the part of the younger writer; but there is the same thoroughgoing, searching study of all the phenomena contributing to a tremendous impressiveness in the total result.

"The Pit," which bears the imprint of Messrs. Doubleday, Page & Co., will be

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widely read for its human interest; it ought to be widely read for its searching exposure of one of the perils which menace American growth and manhood in the country. It would be premature to hail "The Pit" as the great American novel. It has evident faults; but its insight, its power of imagination, and its tremendous energy ought to silence those who have been ready to declare that the material of great art does not exist on this continent; and it will confirm the hopes of those who believe that there is to be another literary development in America in the near future not less characteristic of the hope of the New World than was the fine, aspiring, noble-minded literature of a past generation.

The Impressions of a Careless Traveler

V.

April 5.

IT is idle to attempt to recall and record the suppressed excitement which we all shared when we found ourselves yesterday in the Ægean Sea, and to describe the various scenes in the ever-changing panorama as we sailed among the islands of the Grecian Archipelago. At one point we saw a ruined temple to Athene on one bold promontory overlooking the sea, and watched it for an hour; then it was that I first realized that I was really in Grecian waters. Once we saw a village, partly modern, partly remains apparently of an older time; what it was I could not make out; some of our fellow-passengers were wiser and knew or thought they knew; but I did not take their information very seriously, and have already forgotten what it was. For some time Mount Olympus, snow-capped, was clearly discernible in the distance; that it was Mount Olympus we were certain, both from the direction in which it lay and from the fact that there is no other snow-capped mountain in the vicinity. I almost repented my resolve to bring no temptations to study with me. I wished that I had a history of Greece, or Mahaffy's "Survey of Greek Civilization," or at least Bulfinch's "Age of Fable"—anything to enable me to revive the little knowledge I once possessed of this land of romance and of tragedy. I envied the two or three collegians on board whose knowledge was more recent, and who could therefore reclothe these shores with some resemblance to the ancient life. I think, too, I would have been willing to take for twenty-four hours the responsibility of command, just to direct the steamer to land us at the Plains of Troy, and lie off shore there for the day, that we might get at least a tantalizing glimpse of the excavation at Mycenæ. I went to bed early and asked the steward to call me as we approached the Dardanelles, and was on deck at half-past five this morning as we entered them. We stopped opposite the formidable batteries which the Turkish Government has erected to command this entrance, while some Turkish official rowed out in a boat to examine our papers and give us permission to enter. The batteries were formidable; but not so the three Turkish men-of-war in the harbor. I do not know much about shipping; but if their boilers and engines were in no better condition than their hulls, which were covered with barnacles to an extent I never saw before even on a stranded hulk, combined they would be no match for one American gunboat. The Turkish officer, in his uniform and his red fez, looked like a gentleman; but a more villainous set of countenances I never saw than those of three or four boatmen who attended him. The Armenian massacres are no longer an enigma to me. All day has been spent in the sail up the Dardanelles, past the narrow strait across which Byron swam in emulation of the Greek Leander, and through the inland Sea of Marmora. Not until well on in the afternoon did we come in sight of Constantinople and watch the domes and minarets of the city emerge from the haze, while we looked on wondering and questioning of one another which was the Mosque of St. Sophia, and where was the palace in which the brother of the Sultan was supposed to

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be confined for life for no other crime than that of being the Sultan's brother, and which was Scutari and which Stamboul, and where was the Golden Horn and where the famous bridge of boats.

Hardly had we come to anchor near the mouth of the Golden Horn before a tugboat appeared maneuvering about us, but whether to get at us or out of our path it was at first difficult to guess. The Matron was the first to spy some familiar faces on the boat. Yes, there were our friends. Now they are on board our steamer with their greetings, and which is the happier, they or we, who can tell? Now we are all of us on the tug with our hand luggage. Now we are at the custom-house. Now we are walking along the famous bridge of boats, across the Golden Horn, our baggage examined and our passports viséed.

April 8.

We are back on the Prinzessin again, and though I should have liked more time to study Constantinople and more time to spend with my friends, and time to accept an invitation which I received to go a day's journey into the country and see a rural Turkish community and what Christian missionaries are doing in the interior, I am not unthankful to be out of what is the worst-governed city I ever saw in my life—worse in all of its aspects than anything I ever dreamed of. I shall not attempt to preserve here the pictorial and dramatic aspects of our experiences, though I hope never wholly to forget them: the beauty of the Bosphorus; the splendid site of Robert College, which occupies the best situation between the Golden Horn and the Black Sea; the queer steamers which ply up and down, with a harem for the women which no man may enter if there is a Turkish woman in it, but may if there are only Frank women; the ostentatious but flimsy-looking palaces along the shore; the mosques, especially the splendid mosque of St. Sophia, with its aerial dome resting on nothing, like the dome of the heavens; the cosmopolitan markets; the shops, big and little; the famous bridge of boats, with the constant procession passing and repassing upon it; the overloaded porters, bent nearly double under their burdens; the veiled women looking at you with great eyes through the openings in their veils; the disreputable graveyards, unkempt and uncared for, which constitute apparently the sole pleasure-grounds of Constantinople; the evening call to prayer as we heard it in the gloaming, repeated from minaret to minaret along the banks of the Bosphorus—these hints, aided by such snap-shots as I was able to get with my camera, must serve to keep alive the outward aspects of life in Constantinople. For more detailed impressions I can always go to the pages of Charles Dudley Warner and D'Amicis. But I have my own impressions of the civic and political life. Our visit was very brief, it was true—too brief for any adequate study of conditions. But some of the conditions were too apparent to require study, and I had the advantage of information from permanent residents in the city.

Midway between the Black Sea on the north and the Ægean Sea leading into the Mediterranean on the south is the little Sea of Marmora, at a guess twenty-five or thirty miles in length, for we were two hours or a little over traversing it. The Hellespont connects it with the Ægean Sea, the Bosphorus with the Black Sea—two narrow straits the bold rocky shores of which are easily fortified. The Sea of Marmora is thus a landlocked and easily protected harbor, within which the fleets of the world could not only ride at anchor but could conduct naval maneuvers. Judging from the absence of lighthouses and buoys, the water is everywhere relatively safe. Where the Bosphorus enters the Sea of Marmora, and at right angles to it, there enters from the west a broad but comparatively short river, which at the point of juncture is rather an arm of the sea. This is the Golden Horn. Where these two streams enter the Sea of Marmora three cities of considerable size are clustered: on the eastern or Asiatic shore, Scutari; on the western or European shore, south of the Golden Horn, Stamboul, north of the Golden Horn, Galata and Pera, which are as indistinguishable from each other as Williamsburg and Brooklyn, the name of Galata being given to the portion lying along the water's edge, the name of Pera to the portion rising above it on the side of one of the steep hills which, leaving but a narrow

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margin, wall in the Bosphorus on both shores. Galata and Pera are the modern city; contain the good hotels, the banking houses, the commercial offices, etc.; are supposedly relatively decent but uninteresting. We did not visit this section. Scutari is the oldest and the most squalid portion, as we saw it in our brief and incidental visit on Sunday. Stamboul is the ancient city; the city of the Turks and the city for sightseers. Here are the great mosques, the famous bazaars, the museum, the extraordinarily Oriental and cosmopolitan market; here the strange costumes and the strange faces. These four cities, Stamboul, Galata, Pera, and Scutari, constitute the city of Constantinople. A city so situated ought to be one of the chief commercial and manufacturing centers of Europe. Its harbor ought to be full of the fleets of commerce; it should collect the products of European manufactures needed in the East and Eastern products demanded in Europe; it should be a manufacturing center of raw material brought from both communities; it should at least be the connecting link between Eastern Europe and Western Asia, and a distributing reservoir for both; it should have great piers, commodious warehouses, large and active manufacturing establishments, broad avenues, well-paved and well-lighted streets, a busy and large population. It has none of them, and the reason it has none of them is because it has nothing worthy to be called a government.

One day not long since a lady in the environs of Constantinople was sitting in the library of her house when she heard the report of a gun, and then shot fell in the hall and in the room at her feet. Half a dozen panes of glass had been broken by the shot. She rushed out to find a Turkish neighbor—a shepherd—of an unenviable reputation near by, shotgun in hand. She called him to account, and he replied that he was shooting at a dog which had been killing his sheep. But dogs have not wings, she said, and to have shot thus into my windows you must have shot up into the air. She got no satisfactory reply, proposed to report the case to the police, but was dissuaded by her friends. The police will do nothing, they said; the police are afraid of him. And if you make him any more your enemy than he is now, you will find some member of your family murdered some night on his way up from the boat, and no one will know by whom, and no one will trouble to inquire. This little incident is fairly illustrative of the Turkish Government, or, to speak more accurately, of the Turkish no-government. No one is really safe—no one, from the Sultan to the lowest peasant. The Sultan lives in daily dread for his life, and rarely stirs outside his palace grounds. He is universally hated by Turk as well as by Christian. From rapacity and greed in a favorite of the Sultan no person is really safe. The widow of a once prominent Pasha owned house and land in the vicinity of Constantinople which had been a long time in the family. An unscrupulous favorite of the Sultan, a scheming and influential politician, laid covetous eyes on it, and offered her an absurdly small price for it—perhaps half its market value. Her friends advised her to sell, and she did so, rather than risk the peril to herself and her children of arousing his enmity by a refusal. Robert College wished to add seven acres to its grounds. The bargain was made, the price agreed upon, everything was settled but the delivery of the deed and the money for the deed. But a year elapsed before the transfer could be finally effected, and the matter had to be kept a profound secret lest political influences should be brought to bear to prevent the sale. The owner planted trees in the lot to conceal his purpose to sell, and on the day when the exchange was made would not come up to the College for the transfer lest the secret should be suspected, but sent for its President to meet him elsewhere.

Such is the Turkish Government on its executive side. On its administrative side it is quite as bad. Constantinople is probably the worst-administered city in the world. Its dirt and its dogs defy description. The latter divide the task of scavenger with beggars; both prowl the streets at night, and our fellow-passengers affirm that the yelping of the dogs, even in Pera, the modern city, made sleep at night well-nigh impossible. The roads in the immediate suburbs of Constantinople are, many of them, impassable for carriages. I did not learn as to the sewer system, though I think there is practically none, and

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apparently nothing that could be called a water system. There is no local post-office. If one wishes to send a letter from one part of Constantinople to another part, he must send it by a porter. Corruption pervades all branches of administration; indeed, all departments of the Empire. The Government is bankrupt; the Empire is reported to be some years in arrears to its soldiers, though, as there is no popular assembly, no responsibility to the people, no free press, and, so far as I can learn, no public reports, it is difficult to get at the facts with any approximation to accuracy. But the Sultan personally is enormously rich. When an English Duke, a few weeks ago, visiting Constantinople in his yacht, called on the Sultan, and the Sultan wished to return the visit and did not wish to risk his person in so public a manner as would be required by a visit to the yacht, he put a palace on shore, royally fitted up and with a retinue of servants, at the Duke's disposal, that the visit might be made there. To put the whole situation in a sentence, "Constantinople is thoroughly Crokerized." It is carried on by the Sultan and his favorites on the principle avowed by Mr. Croker, "I am in politics for what I can make out of it."

Appeal to the courts appears, from all that I can learn, to be quite useless. Justice is sold by the court to the highest bidder; payment of the suitors to the judge is regarded as quite legitimate; and he only is looked upon as an unjust judge who receives money from a suitor and then renders decision against him. Even when justice is not corrupt, it is not, I judge, very intelligent, from this Turkish popular story illustrative of Turkish justice. Once upon a time—so the story runs—a thief climbing over the fence of his neighbor to break into his house fell, caught his eye on a hook to which the clothes-line was attached, and destroyed his eye. He brought complaint against the owner of the house which he was planning to rob. The judge decided that the owner must lose his eye, because the law says, An eye for an eye. In vain the innocent house-owner pleaded his right to have a hook in his yard for his clothes-line and the no-right of the intruding burglar to be there at all. The law was explicit: an eye for an eye. At last a happy thought struck the defendant. "I am a tailor," he said to the judge, "and I need both my eyes. If one of them is put out, I can no longer support my family and they will become objects of charity. But my neighbor is a hunter. When he goes shooting, he closes one eye to take aim. Take his eye out. It will be an accommodation to him; I shall still be able to support my family, and the law will be maintained." "Excellent suggestion!" cried the judge; and it was so decreed. Such a story is not to be taken too seriously; but the fact that it is found in the folk-lore of the Turkish people indicates at least what is the popular conception of justice as practically obtainable in Turkey.

I naturally made some inquiries of residents as to the Armenian massacres. The result fully confirmed my previous impressions. Turkey had solemnly promised the Powers certain political reforms. Turkey never fulfills her promises unless she is compelled to do so, and the Powers were too jealous of one another to unite in bringing any pressure to bear on Turkey to initiate the reforms. The Christians in the Empire universally desired them; so did a small but growing party of Turks known as Young or Reforming Turks. There were a few fanatical Armenians—neither considerable in numbers nor in influence with their own countrymen—who were too impatient to await the development of events and who constituted a Revolutionary Committee. This fact furnished at once a provocation and an excuse to the Turkish Government. The universal belief among the foreigners in Turkey appears to be that the orders for the massacres came from the Porte. It is certain that the first massacres, those at Trebizond, were commenced without the knowledge of the local Governor, who used all the power he possessed, at no inconsiderable hazard to himself, to stop the massacre in his own city; of course he was powerless to arrest it elsewhere. The fire, once lighted, easily and rapidly spread. The massacres which followed were due partly to race and religious prejudices, partly to Turkish envy of the most prosperous people in the Empire, partly to the hostility of a debtor to a creditor class (the Armenians being the money-lenders and the Turks

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the money-borrowers in most Turkish communities), partly to a desire for plunder by the unprincipled, partly to the inability of a feeble Government to put any check on fanatical violence when once it had commenced its remorseless work, partly to deliberate incitements by the Government, which was only too willing to have its subjects butchered if so the reforming party in Turkey, and especially the Young or Reforming Turks, could be curbed into silence and submission. The impression which some of us in America had entertained, that the English Government could have stopped the massacres if it had acted promptly and courageously, was confirmed by a report, certainly believed in high quarters and apparently well founded. It is to the effect that the English Minister in Constantinople, after the Trebizond massacre, had given orders to the British fleet to pass the Dardanelles and come up to Constantinople, that the forts were not in condition to resist, and there were Turks ready in Constantinople to co-operate and put the Sultan on board the British fleet and put another and better man in his place. But Lord Salisbury, with characteristic caution, was afraid to act, and ordered delay; the forts were put in readiness; and later, when the continuing massacres had aroused the English public, it was too late to force the Dardanelles. England has paid for this pusillanimity. The Turk understands a threat, but understands nothing else. English influence, which was formerly dominant at Constantinople, is so no longer. It is now the Germans who control both politically and commercially in the Turkish Empire. I was told also, and on what seemed to me good authority, that while every European Power was jealous of every other European Power, and no one of them was willing that Constantinople should come under the dominating influence of any of the others, least of all that it should become a Russian port, they would all be glad if the United States would take it under her wing and make it a free city under an American protectorate, and that even some hopes were expressed that this would be the result of our claims for damages against Turkey. Possibly rumors of this desire reached the ears of the Sublime Porte and led it to pay those claims. This might be a satisfactory solution of the Eastern question to European Powers, it would not be seriously entertained, I imagine, by Americans, at least at present; but that it is even seriously discussed at European dinner-tables may serve to illustrate the complexity of the Turkish problem. As to its solution, I have to confess to myself that my brief visit has given me no light; it has only enabled me to see more clearly than I have ever done before the intolerable condition of the present situation, and the apparent hopelessness of any of the proposed remedies. I suspect the remedy will come in a totally unexpected manner and by some form of revolution. And yet it is difficult to see how revolution could have any prospect of success. The various elements which make up the Turkish community—Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, etc.—are jealous of one another, and as yet their common detestation of a detestable government has not sufficed to unite them in making a common cause for reform of any sort. The Turkish army is an effective fighting machine, and though it is not very intelligent, it is, to a considerable extent, officered by Germans, who are perhaps the most intelligent in the art of war of any Europeans. There are practically no arms in the private possession of any of the people in Turkey, and the Government does not mean that there shall be. How much on its guard it is against the importation of arms is illustrated by a single incident. A benevolent friend sent a tennis set from America to the American College for Girls. It was stopped at the custom-house, and only with considerable difficulty were the custom-house authorities persuaded that tennis-balls sent to a college of girls were not intended as ammunition for a revolutionary uprising. There is, however, a public-school system, recently organized and somewhat efficient in the towns. The existence of mission schools has created a demand for education which could not be wholly resisted. Perhaps through these schools the Young or Reforming Turkish party may in time be increased so as to become a political power. I wish so; I can almost say I hope so. In no other direction do I see present ground for hope for unhappy Turkey. L. A.

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A FIGHT FOR THE CITY

THE STORY OF A CAMPAIGN OF AMATEURS

BY ALFRED HODDER

Private Secretary to District Attorney Jerome

Introductory

THE story of Mr. Jerome's campaign in New York City in 1901 as it is here set down is a story by an eye-witness, but by an eye-witness who had in the beginning no intention whatsoever of playing the chronicler. It was in great part a campaign of amateurs, and an improvised campaign. Mr. Jerome was himself in some sort an amateur in politics; he had, indeed, been an active member of the City Club from the date of its formation; he had been Chairman of the Committee of Seventy and member of the Executive Committee in the campaign that resulted in the election of Mayor Strong; he had been associate counsel in the investigation made by the Lexow Committee; but, apart from these sporadic incursions into politics, he had confined himself to executing with singular audacity and energy the duties of judge in the Court of Special Sessions. With one exception, those of his adherents who first rallied together had never taken part in the organization of a canvass. None of them had long been friends of his, and few of them had long been friends of one another. As a group they came into existence unexpectedly, fortuitously, to meet the needs of the occasion. The bond uniting them was new and incidental as the bond uniting a group of Western ranchmen. They were not Westerners, they were city-bred, they were college-bred, they were even supercivilized, yet to a man bred in the West they conjured up an image of the plains. Their talk was picturesque and varied as the talk of cowboys, which is saying much for it; they were as ready with a jest, as slothful seemingly, as swift in the despatch of business; there was as little formalism among them, as little cant, as little pose. There was not even much heat of indignation; in Mr. Jerome, indeed, there burned beneath a cavalier exterior the wrath of a Hebrew prophet; but his allies were not hot, they were determined simply; they took cognizance of grievances and outrages only as matters of which they purposed trying to make an end. And precisely as in the West it has been found that wherever a few men of our race are gathered together there exists, potentially at least, for all the purposes of justice, of law and necessary order, the Anglo-Saxon State, so it was found that in this random group there was the making of an effective political machine. There from time immemorial has lain the safeguard of the race against all species of oppression; and there to-day lies its safeguard against the tyranny of any machine.

Mr. Jerome's appearance in the field of politics was to me of even more immediate interest than to the general public, for reasons of my own. I knew him, like the general public, only through the medium of the daily press; but I had for years been wondering, not unhopefully, what would be the effect in an American election of a candidate who from the platform told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as steadily as from the witness-stand; and in the preceding months I had been engaged, in company with Josiah Flynt, in an investigation of the Powers that Prey and the alliance between them and the Powers that Rule. Here was a man in office knowing more than I could know of the alliance between the Powers that Rule and the Powers that Prey, and determined to dissolve it; here, as a few

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nights' speeches showed, was a candidate who told the truth. It happened also that I had written in my academic days a book directed against both skepticism and so-called idealism in philosophy, in the interest of the realism of the man of science and of the plain man; a book which was essentially a plea for loyalty, even in metaphysics and even for reasons strictly metaphysical, to truth and fact. The principles of that book I was intending to illustrate further with reference to literary criticism and with reference to politics in the United States. The volume on politics had been planned already; it was to have begun with a defense, although a qualified defense, of Tammany; it was to have continued with an attack upon so-called reformers, and to have concluded with the exposition of a system of reform quite different from theirs—a system of loyalty to truth and fact. A living man is of more interest than any system, and an experiment than any theory. I found myself recording a campaign instead of elaborating the book I had projected, or even plying my more immediate trade of novelist. Mr. Jerome's course of action proved so excellent an illustration of much that I had to say concerning politics that the illustration has for the time being taken precedence of the text.

Imperfect as the record is, the interest of the campaign recorded seems to me to be neither merely local nor ephemeral. For the present, at least, New York is obviously the chief city of America; its daily news is in some sort, like that of Washington, the daily news of every city in the United States. The municipal conditions that have long prevailed there are in essentials the conditions that prevail in almost every large city of the United States—in almost every city numbering more than fifty thousand inhabitants. The sources of danger and of safety are the same; the outlook is, on the whole, the same.

It is true, as Mr. Jerome said in his closing speeches, that democracy is on its trial; so much is patent even to those who have no great fear for the result. The name and even the watchwords of democracy are in America, indeed, assured of their supremacy. But in the course of application to the complex world of fact, all simple formulas are destined to undergo strange transmutations. As the simple formulas of Christianity have served as manifesto for a bewildering variety of systems of ethics and church government, in some at least of which it may be plausibly asserted that the essence of Christianity has disappeared, so the simple formulas of democracy may serve as manifesto for a bewildering variety of forms of civil government. What the form will be that bears in the United States the title of democracy may well be matter of doubt and even of anxiety; the United States is not the smallest or the simplest fact in the vast, complex world. And nowhere, perhaps, so well as in the city of New York can be seen the interaction of the forces that are molding the government of the Republic from within.

I.—The Hunting of John Doe

When, at the close of the municipal campaign of 1901, Mr. Shepard formulated the two main causes that had led to the victory of the Fusion ticket, he found them in the offense given to the public by the words and acts of William Devery, first Chief and then Deputy Commissioner of Police under the late administration, and in the part played in the last weeks of the canvass by the Fusion candidate for District Attorney of the County of New York, William Travers Jerome. Mr. Jerome had been for five years a Justice of the Court of Special Sessions, and in the spring and summer preceding the canvass had been the center of attention as a principal in a prolonged duel with Devery.

Devery had at once given offense and conquered notoriety by playing with a certain unexpected zest the part assigned him. He was a dictator, and he bore himself like a dictator. The power of the police over the masses of the population is much like that exercised during the Renaissance in Italy by princelets of a reigning family; Devery's position was for all the world that of the ducal tyrant of some Italian State in an Elizabethan play. Being a man not without a sense for fact, he knew it; and being a man not without a sense

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for the effective embodiment of fact, he suited mien and words and gestures to his rôle. The classes of society whose taste controls our printed criticism conceived differently the bearing even of a dictator; tastes differ on such points from class to class and even from age to age. What in the early Elizabethan period thrilled the auditor as the "large utterance" of men raised above the common lot of mortals, came to be derided in the mouth of ancient Pistol as King Cambyses' vein; the applauded actor of one generation was the robustious periwig-pated fellow of the next. Such a robustious periwig-pated fellow Devery seemed to the politer circles whose attention had been attracted by his emphasis; to them his dictatorial dignity appeared mere strut and bluster, the more comic for his unwavering gravity and for the disregard of the Republic's English shown in each authoritative phrase. Besides, they never dreamed that he was a potentate at all.

Mr. Devery had been for years, so far as the great public knew him, a figure for opera bouffe. He was, in the opinion of Tammany, "the best chief of police that New York has ever had;" and his language was a continuous performance in inspired mixed metaphor and Irish bull. His phrases achieved currency, in particular the phrase "touchin' on an' appertainin' to." "Touchin' on an' appertainin' to that, there's nothin' doin'," from the frequency with which he uttered it, had the success of a popular line in a comic song. From time to time he was not to be found at police headquarters, and was reported ill with an attack of grippe, or out of town. At such periods a burly figure, that Mr. Devery's most intimate friends might have mistaken for him, was likely to be discovered, very unsteady on his legs, throwing handfuls of silver among a crowd and watching them "scramble" for the pieces, or very unsteady on his seat, driving faster than the law allows and either stared at or ostentatiously ignored by patrolmen. Naturally, he was the delight of the daily prints. In the absence of a fresh rumor of disaster or victory for the troops in the Philippines, or of a strike among laborers or the formation of a trust among employers of labor at home, he was always news. They reported his phrases, and invented, hilariously, the theory of a Devery Double. He was money in the bank, or rather money at the desk, on the next Saturday, for a witty, devil-may-care horde of newspaper men, who found him easy to caricature and easy to convert into a "story" "for a filler." He took his celebrity good-humoredly; indeed, he was rather proud of it. Ridicule and attack were welcome or indifferent to him. Both were advertisement and both were homage. An anecdote will make his mode of dealing with them plain. On I forget what occasion, the newspapers that print woodcuts were all solicitous to get his photograph, and he refused to sit for them. Why, no one knows; the refusal was a whim; he would sit, or he would not, as the humor struck him. The "Commercial Advertiser" at that time had made a specialty of setting forth his unfitness for the office he held, and his fitness for the penitentiary, no less. Lincoln Steffens, then city editor of the "Commercial Advertiser," called him up on the telephone. "That you, Chief? This is Steffens. Top of the morning to you. As soon as I heard you would not let yourself be photographed, I knew you were saving the chance for me." "Well, of all the cold-storage nerve; say—you're a ripe peach!" "Sure. We give more space to you than any other paper in the city. When shall I send the photographer? Right away?" "You're on. Say, don't you want a job in the police? I need a man with a front like that!" A few days afterward the photograph was reproduced in the "Commercial Advertiser." As Deputy Police Commissioner Devery held court every Thursday, when he sat in judgment on delinquent members of the force, and made maxims for their instruction. "When ye're caught with the goods on, don't say nothin'," is a dictum that achieved instant currency. He presided like an Oriental caliph, ungoverned by law or evidence, inspired by the witticism or the irritation of the moment. A patrolman was brought before him charged with reckless shooting in the streets; the Chief glared at him. "Did you hit your man? No? Fined thirty days' pay for not hittin' him. Next time you hit 'im." Every Thursday afternoon the proceedings in his court were reported in the newspapers in the columns dedicated to comedy; every Thursday evening gentlemen in the clubs dedicated

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to civic spirit discussed the disgrace to the city of having a man like Mr. Devery at the head of its police, and laughed bitterly at his judgments while they discussed him. In their indignation and disgust, no doubt, they often did him scant justice.

Devery had some seven thousand men to keep in hand, by military reckoning a brigade, and nobody has ever suggested that his hold on them was not masterly. He knew his men from helmet to shoe-leather; he had been one of them; and when he gave a command, they walked in the eye of the lord. Indeed, even since he has been discharged, it is gravely believed and feared that the rank and file still take his orders. Men who have ever had a regiment to discipline and to control will not think him an absolute buffoon. As to his brutality of speech and harshness in judgment, there are few colonels—few good colonels, that is—in either the American or the British army, to go no further, who have not found both necessary. A regiment cannot be kept smart by politeness, and the men do not respect a commander who knows no better than to try politeness as an instrument of control, by way of experiment. The leading truth about Mr. Devery is, not that he was ridiculous, but that he was, in his own world, formidable. His superiors backed him up, and his subordinates were devoted to him; and even the malcontents obeyed him.

It was not until late in the winter and early in the spring of 1901 that the inhabitants of the brownstone districts, the prosperous minority in a word, received a revelation of the nature of Devery's rule and of the degree of its arrogance, and that Mr. Jerome came prominently into notice. The Rev. Mr. Paddock, who had been working on the East Side, laid a complaint before one of Devery's subordinates, Captain Herlihy, about police rule in Allen Street, the "red-light district," and was publicly cursed and insulted for his pains. Bishop Potter sent an admirably temperate letter to Mayor Van Wyck, Devery's official superior, seeking redress; but no redress was forthcoming. In their refusal to listen to Bishop Potter the administration made a mistake; they roused a body in the commonwealth to all practical intents and purposes both unaware of their existence and at a pinch more powerful than they. The Committee of Fifteen was organized to inquire into the conditions of Mr. Devery's rule. Mr. Croker, prompt to recognize the blunder of his henchmen, appointed a Tammany Committee of Five for the same purpose, putting Lewis Nixon, a notably honest man, at the head of it, and ordering it to take action before the Committee of Fifteen could complete its organization. Mr. Nixon chose to begin his investigations by a raid on an alleged pool-room at No. 20 Dey Street, and applied to Justice Jerome for a warrant; and there the defeat of Tammany in the coming election and the duel with Devery began. Mr. Jerome knew "down to the ground" the nature of "fake" or tipped-off raids. The magistrate issues a warrant and hands it to a police officer to serve it; the police officer organizes a raiding party, and sends word beforehand to the gambling-hell of the time set for the raid; and the raiding party finds a set of empty rooms, in charge, perhaps, of a facetious caretaker. Mr. Jerome was quite ready to issue warrants; but he declined to be a figure in a comedy. He made out the warrants against John Doe, put them in his pocket, and, in company with Mr. Nixon and Mr. Philbin, led a raiding party, ignorant of its destination, to 20 Dey Street, and rushed the place. "Rushing" means hustling watchmen, breaking barred doors, and a free fight, ending, possibly, in a shooting scrape, with such of the occupants of the rooms within as try to make good an escape. In an outer room dedicated to lounging and drinking, Mr. Jerome, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Philbin, and their party stumbled upon eight members of the police force detailed to get evidence against the place. These testified subsequently that they each drew fourteen hundred dollars a year from the taxpayers of the city of New York; that they had frequented that room for thirty-five days consecutively, barring Sundays, and that they were perfectly unaware of any gambling conducted in the house. In another room, where something like a hundred men had been rounded up and reduced to submission, Mr. Jerome gave an officer the warrants to serve and opened court.

Conducting raids in person and opening court informally in gambling-hells were unprecedented departures from the decency and decorum prescribed by public

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opinion to a magistrate. In this, the first instance of such departure, he had scarcely declared the room in which he sat a court-room and himself a judge presiding, when a man, perfectly well known to the invading party, detached himself from the crowd, and said, *sotto voce:* "Mr. Jerome, I can't afford to be caught here; you must help me get out." "You don't seem to understand that this is a court-room. Hold up your hand and be sworn." The man hesitated. People who have talked with Mr. Jerome only in clubs have never met the judge. His manner in court is exceptionally tranquil and unassuming; but every spectator knows himself to stand in presence of the power and dignity of the law. "You can take your choice, and take it quickly: go to jail for contempt of court, or hold up your hand." The man held up his hand and was sworn. "What is your name?" "John Doe." "I shall be obliged to commit John Doe to the House of Detention in order to find him when I want him. I do not know his residence." Then the unwilling prisoner told his name: he was Maurice Holahan, President of the Board of Public Works. He explained to the newspapers the next day that he had gone to 20 Dey Street looking for his "wayward son." Neither the newspapers nor the public took the explanation seriously, and the wayward son was indignant. Indeed, the town shook with irreverent laughter, and the wayward son made undutiful revelations about certain of his father's dealings in contracts with the city.

This was the first of Mr. Jerome's John Doe raids. The Committee of Five never asked him, or any one, for another warrant. The little comedy Mr. Croker had planned turned suddenly too grave for his taste, and the Committee of Five ceased to exist. The Committee of Fifteen awoke to the fact that they had found a man precisely suited to their needs. They were non-political and non-partisan; they were in search of information about the actual conditions of police rule in New York City; when their informants led them to believe that a place should be raided, they applied to Mr. Jerome for the warrants. The hunting of John Doe was undertaken in earnest, with Mr. Jerome as chief huntsman. John Doe was Mr. Devery, as supposedly the official head of the system of blackmail by the police; but any confederate or subordinate of his was welcome game. In view of the current belief that gambling in the city was in the hands of a small syndicate of Mr. Devery's intimate friends, it was determined to make gambling-houses the main objective of the raids. The keepers of the gambling-houses were not themselves the men wanted; they were taken into custody and prosecuted mainly in the hope that some of them would turn State's evidence. They had paid their money for protection; it was hoped that when they found the police could not deliver the goods, they would rise against their blackmailers.

Through the spring and summer months, night after night, the raids went on, Mr. Jerome risking his life freely among the least scrupulous class in the city. He had not sought the position of chief huntsman or its notoriety. He was not a professional reformer or an aspirant for political advancement; he was ostensibly a club-man and man about town like another. As a Deputy Assistant in the District Attorney's office, and later as a Judge, he had learned the police game; he was, at once by knowledge and position, the one man who could and would do the work cut out for the Committee of Fifteen. Conducting a raid, examining the prisoners, waiting at the police station afterward for such of them as could secure bail, meant commonly staying abroad all night; and his official duties required him to open court in the Special Sessions at ten the next morning. His fellow club-men criticised him for making himself conspicuous. His brother lawyers and judges criticised him for "lowering the dignity of the bench." The newspapers caricatured him as Carrie Nation Jerome with a little hatchet. No doubt he enjoyed certain incidents in many of his nights; but the man who enjoys leading or assisting in a raid must be of an adventurous sort. It is the custom in raiding to send two or three men in advance whose business it is to mix with the players. On the first notice that the rush has begun, they are two or three against a hundred; they must hold the crowd from escaping by door or window. On battering down the door of one pool-room, Mr. Jerome discovered on the inside one of his own men, Hammond, with a prisoner in his left hand,

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a prisoner and a revolver in his right, struggling forward to the arrest of a third. McLellan, another of his assistants (who was held for examination before a magistrate for having shot, on a more recent raid, a man who had fired twice at him), was on three occasions overpowered and beaten to a pulp before the rest of his party outside could break in and come to his assistance. More than once Mr. Jerome himself was obliged to bear a hand in a free fight before he could open one of his phenomenally informal courts. At times, of course, the raid ended in pure comedy. One evening Mr. Jerome and his party took by storm an absolutely empty house. The appurtenances of gambling were in evidence, but the John Doe warrants remained in the pockets of the Justice; he found nobody to serve them on. He sat on a roulette-table and said: "Sporting life is checkered, but never dull; some days you can't lay up a cent;" when there blew in from the street a young exquisite, who, at sight of his hosts, looked as if he were taking the count in order to get his bearings. "I—I beg pardon," he said, vaguely. "Not at all," said the Judge; "we were just waiting for you. I am Judge Jerome, and this is a court in session. Hold up your hand and be sworn. Tell the truth and no harm will come to you. Try on any nonsense and you will pass the night in the House of Detention. You can take your choice." As a bystander said, the young exquisite "sweated tacks," and was sworn. Before he could be asked a question, he turned to one of Mr. Jerome's party and said hurriedly: "I say, old man, can you give me a cigarette? Thanks. By Jove, I need one!" Then he told all he knew.

In the course of these raids there were for the police many unlucky accidents. There was a raid, for example, on a place called the Webster House on Third Avenue. Some thirty or forty taxpayers in the neighborhood had in a petition "humbly prayed" the police captain of the precinct, Captain Gannon, to suppress the joint, on the ground that their property was being injured by its proximity to the Webster House, and that their women could not go to and fro of an evening past the house without being insulted. The petitioners, failing to obtain redress from the Captain, applied to the Committee of Fifteen. In the raid that followed Captain Gannon was surprised taking his ease in a back room of the place, and it subsequently appeared that he was an habitué of the Webster House. It is an incident that makes a picture. And Devery, in his judgments from week to week in the travesty of a court he presided over, added the finishing touches; dashed them in with a reckless security that made even his own admirers gasp. One patrolman, McManus by name, came up before him during the raids, on the charge of absence from duty without leave. The known facts in the McManus case were these. A married man, he had some years before abandoned his wife and allowed his three children to be supported for four years in a charitable institution maintained by the city. During all this time he was an officer on the force. It had been charged that he had seduced a fifteen-year-old girl, taken her from the house of her parents, and was living with her as his mistress. For this he was indicted and tried for rape and seduction by the county authorities, and on the trial the jury disagreed. Men familiar with the trials of members of the police force can read between the lines. He was tried also at Police Headquarters for conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and after the evidence was put in decision was "reserved." It was on record also that he had once been dismissed from the force for intoxication, but, without reason given, had been reinstated. Finally the Gerry Society had caused him to be arrested for failure to support his children, and the trial took place in the Court of Special Sessions at a time when Mr. Jerome happened to be presiding justice. Mr. Jerome and his associates on the bench sentenced McManus to three months in the penitentiary. It was on his release that he appeared before Devery on the charge of being absent from post without leave. He might have pleaded that his absence was unwilling and unavoidable, but he did not. He pleaded, when Devery had lost his temper and was to all seeming on the point of passing heavy sentence on him, that he had been sentenced to the penitentiary by Judge Jerome. Devery's mood changed. Two days before, Mr. Jerome, in one of his raids, had captured an especially significant check drawn to the order of and cashed by Frank Farrell, one of Devery's inti-

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mates and an alleged fellow-member of the gambling syndicate. "Judge Jerome," Devery mused. "This complaint is dismissed! There is a lot of little tin soldiers runnin' around this town with popguns on their shoulders, shooting them off in the streets, raising riots and degrading the community. I say it's an outrage. Judge Jerome isn't goin' to run this town if I can help it. This man here claims that he was wrongly convicted, and I believe him. It is about time a halt was called on Judge Jerome." McManus, when arraigned before Mr. Jerome and his associates, had pleaded guilty. After Devery's decision he drew his pay for the three months during which he had served the city in the penitentiary.

To rich New Yorkers and to rich men everywhere the fact is seemingly a novelty, and even a paradox, that the administration in great cities means one thing to the rich and quite another to the poor. To the rich it means, in practice, customs-house officials, lawyers, judges in the higher courts, tax-gatherers, and, in the case of the very rich, legislatures, Congressmen, and Senators. To the poor it means the policeman on the beat, the police captain in the precinct, the district leader and his heelers, and the nearest police magistrate. To the women of the rich the policeman is almost a domestic servant, to whom they can appeal for aid and protection, and in whose presence they feel a sense of safety; they appeal to him and say, "Thank you so much," with a sense of conferring a favor; and "Chief of Police" is to them the title of a vaguely conceived petty official. To the women of the poor a policeman is a sentinel of a garrison—at least professedly a friendly garrison—that has quartered itself upon the city, and holds it in subjection under military law; and the Chief of Police is a remote and awful military dignitary of undefined powers. If the sentinel is good-natured and sober, he can be appealed to in case of need with some chance that he will throw his power into the scale of justice. If he is ill-natured, or drunken, or venal, there is indeed a bare chance that an appeal to his superiors may bring him a rebuke, but more than a rebuke is scarcely to be hoped for; neighbors and friends are slow to testify against the police for obvious reasons, and all who know the police know how difficult it is to force one of them to testify against another. I have seen the big fellows blush like girls, and wipe off the cold sweat that started to their faces, at the lies they were telling to shield a comrade—lies perfectly patent under cross-examination; but I have never seen one of them break down. And so long as the man complained of remains in authority, there is small limit to his power to be avenged on the complainant. He can take any woman on the streets into custody and charge her with "soliciting." He can take any man on the streets into custody and club him, and charge him with having been drunk and disorderly, and with having resisted an officer in the discharge of his duty. Except by mistake, such arrests and charges do not befall the rich. The rich have money with which to pay for a fight; the rich have money with which to bring witnesses to their social position, and to bring bondsmen to give bail for them; and at the first credible intimation that a mistake has been made about the wealth and social position of a prisoner, the police are all apologies, contrition, and courtesy. The poor have no money with which to pay for a fight, or to bring witnesses, or to indemnify bondsmen; and their witnesses, who would gladly come forward on a guarantee of impunity, cannot afford, on penalty of sheer hunger, to miss a day's work, and cannot afford, on grounds of personal safety, to appear against an accusing policeman. Even when the policeman's immediate superiors are honest, the poor had better, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, in wisdom for themselves, submit than fight; and they do submit. When the policeman's superiors, as in New York City, are, as a rule, more corrupt and brutal than himself, the case of the poor is little short of desperate. Gamblers, the keepers of dives and brothels, criminals generally, have ready money and pay it, and are relatively safe. The poor are safe only in so far as they are inconspicuous; and known savings, for example, or a strikingly handsome wife or daughter, suffice to render them conspicuous. Well-worn instances of Roman or Italian tyranny are re-enacted in New York with variations; the old materials of tragic drama lie ready to the playwright's hand. No one who knows anything of the extent

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to which the privilege of theft and robbery is a matter of bargain and sale, and anything of the extent to which the "cadet system" has prevailed, will find these statements exaggerated. The hunting of John Doe did not achieve its ostensible purpose; William Devery and his allies and lieutenants were still at large and still bore sway; but it made apparent in some measure to the well-to-do the nature and the abuses, possible and actual, of the power of the police.

Sir William Harcourt[1]

By Justin McCarthy

EVERY friend and admirer of Sir William Harcourt must have been glad when it was made known that the late leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons had declined to accept the King's offer of a peerage and was determined to remain in that representative chamber where he had made his political name and won his place of command. Sir William Harcourt would have been thrown away in the House of Lords. He could not have done anything to arouse that apathetic chamber to anything like living importance in the affairs of state, and the House of Commons would have lost its most impressive figure. Sir William Harcourt's political fame was made in the House of Commons, and he is even yet its most distinguished member. I say "even yet" because Harcourt is growing old, and has passed that age of threescore years and ten authoritatively set down as the allotted space of man's life. But he shows no appearance as yet of old age, seems full of energy and vital power, and is as well able to command the listening House of Commons by argumentative speech and impressive declamation as he was twenty years ago. Harcourt's bearing is one of superabundant physical resources, and he has a voice of resonant tone which imposes no tax on the listening powers of the stranger in the farthest gallery. He is a very tall man, would be one of the tallest men in any political assembly, and his presence is stately and commanding. After Gladstone's death he became the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, and he resigned that position only because he could not cordially accept the policy and plans of action undertaken by his leader in the House of Lords, Lord Rosebery. I do not propose to enter at any length into the differences of opinion which separated these two men, but it was generally understood that Lord Rosebery did not see his way to carry out Gladstone's policy for the maintenance of Greece and the Christian populations generally against the blood-stained domination of the Ottoman power in the southeast of Europe. The result of these differences was that Lord Rosebery applied himself to form a Liberal party of his own, which should be what is called Imperialist in its policy, and that Harcourt became merely a member of the Liberal opposition in the House of Commons. To have won the place of Liberal leader in the representative chamber might well have satisfied the ambition of any man, and to withdraw from that place rather than contribute to any further disagreement in the party did not in any sense detract from Harcourt's influence and fame.

Sir William Harcourt won his earliest distinctions in law and literature rather than in politics. He comes of a family which has a history of its own and had members who won reputation during many generations. He was educated at Cambridge University and obtained high honors there. He was called to the bar in 1854, and became Queen's Counsel in 1866. In the meantime he had accomplished some important literary work. He was a writer for the "Saturday Review," then at the zenith of its reputation, and under the title of "Historicus" he contributed a series of letters on important public subjects to the "Times" newspaper which attracted universal attention, were afterwards collected and published

[1] This article is the seventh of a series about living British statesmen. In preceding articles Mr. McCarthy has written of Mr. Balfour, Lord Salisbury, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry Labouchere, the Earl of Aberdeen, and Mr. James Bryce. Other subjects will be Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. John Burns, and Mr. John E. Redmond.

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in a volume, and found readers in every part of the world where men take interest in the public life of England. He was a leading advocate in some legal causes which excited the profound attention of the whole country, and was already regarded as a man of mark, who might be safely assumed to have a successful career before him. It was generally taken for granted at the time that such a man was certain to seek and find a place in the House of Commons, which of course offers an opening for rising legal advocates as well as for rising politicians. I can remember quite distinctly that to all of us who were watching the careers of promising men it appeared quite certain that Harcourt was not likely to content himself with professional distinction, and that when he entered the House of Commons he would devote himself for the most part to the business of political life. He made one unsuccessful attempt to obtain a seat in the House of Commons as representative of a Scottish constituency, and was more fortunate in his second endeavor, when he was elected to Parliament by the city of Oxford as a Liberal in 1868. Then for a while I personally lost sight of him, for towards the close of that year I began a lengthened visit to the United States, and only learned through the newspapers that he was already winning marked distinction as a Parliamentary debater. When I returned to England in 1871, I found that Harcourt was already regarded as certain to hold high office in a Liberal administration. His first step in that direction was to obtain the office of Solicitor-General in Gladstone's Government.

A story was told of Harcourt at the time—this was in 1873—which I believe to be authentic and is worth repeating. Up to this time he was merely Mr. William Vernon Harcourt, but the usage in Parliamentary life is that the leading law officers of the Crown, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, shall receive the honor of knighthood. It was therefore a matter of course that Mr. Harcourt should become Sir William Harcourt, and bear the title by which he is still known everywhere. The story goes, however, that Harcourt was not much delighted with the offer of a distinction which is commonly conferred upon the mayors of English cities and towns and other such personages of municipal position. Harcourt, as I have said, came of a distinguished English family which had contributed Lord Chancellors and other such exalted dignitaries to the business of the State. He probably had also in his mind the fact that rising men in his own profession who happened to be sons of Peers were specially exempted by constitutional usage from the necessity of putting up with knighthood when accepting one of the two legal offices under the Crown. The manner in which this very fact proclaimed the comparative insignificance of the title may have still further influenced Harcourt's objections. Anyhow, he did endeavor to impress upon Gladstone his claim to be exempted from the proffered dignity. Gladstone, however, assured him that it was the recognized constitutional practice to confer a knighthood upon a new Solicitor-General, and that there was no reason why Harcourt should seek dispensation from the honor. "Then," demanded Harcourt—so at least the story is told—"why don't you confer knighthoods on all the members of your Cabinet, and see how some of them would receive the proposition?" I cannot vouch for this story as historical truth, but I can vouch for the fact that it was told everywhere at the time, and received, so far as I know, no contradiction.

Harcourt made his way almost at once to the front rank of Parliamentary debaters. His style was somewhat rhetorical and declamatory, but it was distinctly argumentative, and his speeches contained few passages of mere declamation. He was a hard hitter, one of the hardest in the House, but he hit straight from the shoulder and never gave an unfair blow. He was often very happy in his sarcastic touches, and there was a certain robust and self-satisfied good humor even in his severest attacks on his Parliamentary opponents. The general impression of observers at first was that Harcourt would go in merely for the reputation of a powerful debater in the House of Commons, and would not show any ambition for the steady and severe work of Ministerial office. The public had yet to learn that the highest reputation of the man was to be made by his success as the head of a great Ministerial department. Many

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observers also formed the opinion that Harcourt had no clear political views of his own, and was merely a sort of free lance ready to accept employment under the most convenient leader. He had entered the House of Commons as a Liberal, and even before he accepted office had always ranked himself as a regular supporter of the Liberal party, but he often made speeches in opposition to the views of extreme Liberals or Radicals—speeches such as might well have been made by some eloquent member of the Tory party. Many of the more advanced Liberals had for some time no confidence whatever in Harcourt's Liberalism, and were often engaged in sharp controversy with him. My own impression is that, up to a certain period in his career, Harcourt had not formed, or troubled himself to form, any very settled opinions on the rising political questions of the day. Upon all the old subjects of political debate, on the controversies which divided political parties in a former generation, his views were, no doubt, quite settled, but then there were many new subjects coming up for discussion, bringing with them new occasions for political division, and it is quite probable that on some of these at least the new Solicitor-General had not quite made up his mind. He had been a close student at Cambridge, and had been elected professor of international law by that University; he had practiced law as an advocate, and had begun to make a reputation for himself as a writer. It is quite probable that he had not yet given any special attention to some of the new questions which the growing development of social and political conditions was calling up for Parliamentary consideration.

Harcourt appears to have accepted as a matter of course, when he entered the House of Commons, the recognized principles inherited by the Liberal party. But there was then, as at most other periods of England's constitutional history, a new and advancing Liberal party beginning to make its influence felt, and not satisfied to abide by the mere traditions and established canons of the older Liberalism. Only a very few even of the advanced Liberals were yet prepared to support and encourage the Irish demand for Home Rule, and on such domestic questions, for instance, as the regulation of the liquor traffic, the Liberal party in general had not made up its mind to any policy other than a policy of mere inaction. I mention these two subjects in particular because they have an especial value in throwing light upon the change which took place more lately in Harcourt's political attitude. Probably at the time when he first entered the House of Commons he had not concerned himself much with the Home Rule question, and had allowed himself to take it for granted, as so many even among Liberal politicians and newspapers would have told him, that the Irish Home Rulers were aiming at the break-up of the Empire. In the same way it is quite possible that he may have given little or no attention to the demand for some new regulation of the liquor traffic, and dismissed the whole subject as a crotchet of Sir Wilfrid Lawson. When, however, he began to study the political life of the House of Commons as an active and a rising member, and when he found that his inclinations and his instincts were leading him into politics and away from law, we can easily understand that he set himself to study with candid judgment the new questions which were beginning to divide the Liberal party. I have often heard Sir William Harcourt accused of inconsistency and even of time-serving, because of his sudden conversion to the principle of some political movement which was at last coming to be accepted by the great Liberal leaders. I do not see any reason whatever to believe that Harcourt can fairly be reproached with inconsistency, or can be justly accused of any ignoble motive for his adoption of the newer and more advanced opinions. The explanation seems to me quite clear. The university student, the practicing advocate, the professor of international law, adopted a new career and devoted himself to an active part in the work of the House of Commons. Then it was that he studied for the first time with earnestness and impartiality some great developing questions which had previously been mere names and shadows to him, and thus he came to form the conclusions which guided his subsequent career. If Harcourt had been thinking chiefly of his own political advancement, he might have done better for himself by following the example of Disraeli, and taking a place among the

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Tories, where intellect and eloquence were more rare than on the other side of the House, and where promotion was therefore more easily to be won.

Harcourt had probably not given much attention to great financial questions until he came under the influence of Gladstone. Up to that time he had, perhaps, not assumed that such subjects were likely to come within the scope of his practical work; but when he had to study them, he began to discover that he had within him the capacity for a thorough comprehension of their real meaning and development, and as the result of the study he became, when the opportunity offered itself, one of the most successful and enlightened financial Ministers of his time. In the same way he had, perhaps, never given any serious thought to the question of Irish Home Rule, and had fallen quietly into the way of regarding it, in accordance with the common opinion of most Englishmen just then, as something naturally associated with a rebellious desire for the breaking up of the Empire. When, however, he was led to study it as a question of reasonable import, he grew to be a convinced and a hopeful advocate of the cause. For a long time after he had taken office under Gladstone he found himself brought into an incessant opposition and even antagonism to the small group of Irish members, who then represented the Irish national demand, and compelled to fight against the obstruction which these Irish members were raising night after night, as their only means of enforcing public attention to a serious consideration of Ireland's national complaints and claims. He became converted to the cause of Home Rule, just as Gladstone did, by having the question forced upon his consideration, and thus being compelled to ask himself whether there was not some real sense of justice inspiring the Irish agitation.

I shall always remember a conversation I once had with Gladstone on this subject of Irish Home Rule. It was in one of the inner lobbies of the House of Commons, and Mr. Gladstone began it by asking me how I could regard Home Rule as a national demand, seeing that only a very small number of the Irish representatives in the House were actively in favor of such a measure. Gladstone called my attention to the fact that out of the whole body of Irish representatives elected by the constituencies on the same basis of voting, less than a dozen members declared themselves uncompromising advocates of Home Rule. I drew Gladstone's attention to the fact that the suffrage in Ireland was so high and so restricted that the whole bulk of the Irish population were disqualified by law from giving a vote at any election. Gladstone appealed to me to say whether he had not long been in favor of an expanded suffrage for the whole Kingdom, and I told him that I cordially recognized his genuine purpose, and that whenever we got a really fair and popular suffrage he would then find ample proof that the great bulk of the Irish people were united in their demands for Home Rule. Not long after, it came about that Gladstone and his Government saw their way to a measure of reform which gave the whole Kingdom an expanded and popular suffrage, and at the next general election the great majority of Irish members opposed to or lukewarm about Home Rule disappeared altogether from Parliament, and their places were taken by avowed and genuine Home Rulers elected mainly because they were earnest advocates of Home Rule. Out of the hundred and three members who constitute the Irish representation, we had then nearly ninety who were proclaimed and consistent Home Rulers. This result did much of itself to make Gladstone a convert to Home Rule, and it had naturally the same effect on Harcourt, who was far too intelligent a man not to accept the lesson taught by the Irish constituencies, and to admit that the demand for Home Rule was a genuine national demand, and as such entitled to the serious consideration of real statesmen. The conversion of Harcourt I have always, therefore, regarded as sincere and statesmanlike, and of the same order as the conversion of Gladstone himself. The first business of statesmanship is to recognize established facts and to act upon their evidence. Once the demand had been proved to be national, neither Gladstone nor Harcourt was the man to deny it a full consideration; and the same full consideration made the one man and the other an advocate of Home Rule.

In the days before the great constitu-

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tional change which I have described, the change which resulted in the adoption of a popular suffrage, in the days when our small band of Irish Nationalists was still doing battle inch by inch against the Government, we had many fierce struggles with Harcourt, then a leading member of the Liberal administration. We had to admit that we found in him a powerful antagonist. He was ready in reply, resolute in maintaining his position, and he gave us, to say the least of it, as good as we brought. He was ever alert, he could answer attack by attack, he could carry the battle into the enemy's ranks, and the ablest of our debaters had his best work to do when compelled to stand up in Parliamentary contest against Harcourt. But I always observed that in our private dealings with Harcourt, on questions which came within the range of his administrative functions, we always found him considerate, kind, and even generous. There are frequent occasions when a Minister of the Crown had to be applied to by an Irish member for justice in the dealings of his official department, where individual questions of right and wrong having nothing to do with the general subject of Home Rule came up for consideration. I am now speaking of questions which were not to be settled by mere debate in the House of Commons, but which belonged to the ordinary and practical dealings of the department with this or that individual case. I can remember many instances in which I had to make some such appeal to Sir William Harcourt, and I always found him most ready and willing to consider fairly the nature of any individual grievance, and to prevent the administration of the law from being perversely turned into an engine of oppression. I know that many of my colleagues as well as myself felt thankful to Harcourt for his prompt interference where a genuine grievance had been brought under his notice, and for his resolve to see that justice must be done to the obscure sufferer from official tyranny. When the Liberal Government and the Irish National party came to work together for Home Rule, we, the Irish National members, had nothing on our memory which could prevent us from regarding Harcourt as a genuine Liberal and a sincere friend who had never shown any inclination to abuse his power when he was strong and we were at our weakest. My recollection of the days when we were fighting against Harcourt is tinged with no bitterness. He was always a formidable fighter, but he fought fairly when he still had to fight against us.

It is not surprising that Harcourt should have been for some time regarded as a powerful debater and nothing more. He was one of the foremost debaters in the House of Commons, even at a time when that House had more commanding debaters in it than it can claim to have just at present. He cannot be ranked among the great orators of the House. He is wanting in imagination, and without the gift of imagination there cannot be eloquence of the highest order. Even in the mere making of phrases he has seldom shown originality, and it has often been remarked of him, as it was remarked by Disraeli of Sir Robert Peel, that he never ventures on any quotation which has not already well established its popularity. Sir William Harcourt's best qualities as a speaker consist in his clearness of exposition, his unfailing fluency, his masterly array of forcible argument, and the fact that he never allows his eloquence to soar over the heads of his audience. I should be inclined to say of him that, although he is unquestionably a great Parliamentary debater, yet his intellectual capacity, his faculty for balancing evidence, acquiring and comparing facts, appreciating tendencies, and coming to just conclusions, are greater even than his powers of speech. I may say that one who listened to Sir William Harcourt during the earlier stages of his Parliamentary career might very naturally have been led to quite a different conclusion, and might have set him down as a clever maker of speeches and not a statesman. But such an observer, supposing him to be endowed with a fair amount of intelligence, would have gradually changed his opinion as he followed Harcourt's political career. Every time that Harcourt has been in office he has more and more given proof that there is in him the genuine quality of statesmanship. He served as Home Secretary under Gladstone, and was afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, first in one of Gladstone's administrations and afterwards in the Government of Lord Rose-

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bery. There can be no question that he proved himself to be one of the greatest financial Ministers England has had in recent times. His famous Death Duties budget, introduced while Lord Rosebery was Prime Minister, created one of the most vehement controversies known to the political life of the present generation. Yet the great principle which Harcourt embodied in his dealing with the question of death duties must now be regarded even by his political opponents as resting on a basis of absolute morality and justice. The principle merely was that the amount of taxation which any individual pays to the State in consideration of his having obtained property by bequest shall be greater in proportion according as the acquired property is great in amount. In other words, Harcourt's policy maintained that a man who comes in for a large property as a bequest shall pay a larger proportion of taxation to the State than a man who comes in for a small property, and that the same principle ought to prevail through our other systems of direct taxation. The whole controversy simply turns on the question whether the rich man ought or ought not to pay a larger proportion of his income to defray the national expenses than the poor man—whether the citizen who has only income enough to enable him to maintain his family decently ought to be called upon to pay towards the maintenance of the State on just the same scale as that ordained for the man who can live in lavish luxury. The boldness and originality of Sir William Harcourt's venture in his budget of 1893, the energy and argumentative power with which he carried it to success, have undoubtedly secured for him a place in the front rank of England's financial Ministers. The later years of Harcourt's career offer a strange commentary on the estimate generally formed of him when he began to be conspicuous in Parliament. At the former period he was commonly regarded as a clever but somewhat superficial man, as one whose qualities were rather flashy than sound, as a ready maker of telling speeches designed to produce an immediate effect and destined to be utterly forgotten the day after to-morrow. Harcourt's later years of public work have proved him to be a serious Parliamentary leader, a man of strong and deep convictions, a man who thinks before he speaks and speaks because he thinks.

Indeed, the seriousness of Harcourt's convictions on some subjects of National importance has brought him more than once into disfavor with his constituents. He holds very strong and advanced views on the subject of local option—that is to say, on the right of localities to say whether they will or will not allow the sale of intoxicating drinks within their confines, and to state what conditions are to be imposed on the traffic if it is permitted at all. Sir William Harcourt went further on this subject than som even among his colleagues who were in favor of the general principle as a principle, but did not see the necessity for pressing it to immediate action. One of those colleagues said to me that in his opinion Harcourt might very well have allowed the question to stand over for eight or ten years, and perhaps by the end of that time the habits of the population would have improved so far as to render the passing of any strong restrictive law unnecessary. I am quite certain that Harcourt's earnest resolve to deal boldly with this subject if he should be allowed the opportunity had much to do with the condition of feeling in the Liberal party which led to his resignation of its leadership. We may look forward with confidence to the formation of a new Liberal Government in which Harcourt will have a commanding position, and when that time comes we may take it for granted that, in spite of whatever opposition on either side of the House of Commons, he will once more attempt to deal with the question of local option.

Most of my American readers know that Sir William Harcourt's second wife was the daughter of Lothrop Motley, the famous historian who was for a time Minister to Great Britain, and died at Harcourt's country residence in 1877. The eldest son, Lewis Vernon Harcourt, who was born in 1863, has also married an American lady. The younger Harcourt, whom I have known since his boyish days, is endowed with much of his father's talents, and I have always thought that if he had devoted himself entirely to political life he might make for himself such a career as his father has already accomplished. During contested elections I

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have been more than once associated with the younger Harcourt in "stumping" some parts of the country on behalf of the Liberal Government then engaged in the cause of Home Rule, and I have the clearest memories of his remarkable organizing capacity, his ready eloquence, and his skill in replying to questions and arguments and in convincing skeptical voters. I take it for granted that every one who has known Lewis, or, as he is commonly called, "Lulu" Harcourt, must have delightful recollections of his bright companionship. We have all heard that Sir William Harcourt studiously consulted his son when the offer of a peerage was made to him by King Edward, and that "Lulu" was resolute in supporting his father's desire to refuse the honor, even although his acceptance of it would have made "Lulu" the heir to a peerage. Sir William Harcourt, we may well hope, has yet good work to do in the House of Commons. There is nothing about him which suggests the idea of advanced years or of decaying powers, whether mental or physical. The curious attack of weakness which lately came over so many members of the Liberal party never touched his robust intellect and resolute character. No man could render more valuable services than he may be expected to do in turning to account for genuine Liberalism the reaction already beginning to set in against the reign of the Tories and the Jingoes. I cherish the belief that the best of Sir William Harcourt's work is yet to be done by him.

The Possibilities of Peat

By S. Power

THIS New Year's Day, 1903, smiles sunnily on a curious, uncomfortable, unnecessary condition of affairs. The richest country in the world has its commerce, its manufactures, and its homes practically at the mercy of a few operators in fuel. This article is written in a writing-room of a hotel, because the home order for fuel paid for ten days ago has not been delivered, and the domestic shortage allows fire only nights and mornings. My lawyer, in good practice, yesterday owned to highly pessimistic feelings in view of the fact that he had just paid for twenty-eight tons of coal at fourteen dollars a ton. He does not know how fortunate he is to get it at all. New England churches suspend service, New England manufacturers are walking the floor in dread of being compelled to shut down their mills for want of coal just when our export trade needs nursing to hold its own. People sent Christmas boxes of home cake, nuts, and confectionery to friends, and the prettiest bonbonnière was full of nut coal, carefully washed and dried. With the cover closed the enamel box went on with the dessert—a joke which has had a famous run these holidays.

At the first cold snap the University Settlement sent around to the Young Women's Christian Association and other institutions to see if they could sell any coal to help out the Settlement's shortage. The "Young Woman's," as it goes among its frequenters, has the right sort of an engineer, who buys its coal by the boat-load and gets it at $3.20 a ton this season of scarcity. His dynamos burn "buckwheat" fine coal just as the great electric power and light companies use it. There is coal *en route*, we are told, but the mere transit after the stagnant months of strike almost blocks trade. The ocean liners contract by the year for coal, and each steamer of the crack lines must have at least two thousand tons for a week's run. Five million families must have at least a half ton a month each or shiver. That is the least amount by which one small fire can be kept with economy. Multiply it and see what amount must be moved weekly to keep this country going. The coal-trucks must roll steadily each hour of night and day on the railroads to keep our American world of business and its cooking fires supplied. Chill is as deadly as freezing, though its effects are slower. The colds taken in fireless street-cars, in chilly rooms and draughty shops, swell the death-rate under various other names

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of resulting diseases. The people die and make no sign.

It is all so useless, the complications of trade and the suffering of humanity. New York City shivers and complains, with deposits of the best fuel known in two hours' reach, sufficient to keep its fires for two generations. New Jersey has enough to last a century; Chicago fumes over its coal famine with beds of the richest gas-fuel almost within the city limits; Wisconsin valleys are filled with it; Indiana might supply her neighboring States with firing and not feel it; St. Paul has fuel-beds to last her fires indefinitely. Of course this fuel is the despised, little-understood peat. Really, one might put in a cup of tea all that people know about one of Nature's best gifts, which will play no insignificant part in human affairs for the coming century. The wireless telegraph is of less importance.

Peat is the deposit of dead swamp moss and other bog plants charged with carbon, often with bitumen. The swamp moss, one of the most enduring plants known, will hold two hundred times its own weight of water, and its earth holds eighty to ninety per cent. Dry the sods in the air and they burn so well that a ton and four-fifths equals a ton of coal for heating purposes. That is to say, it has about half the heating power of good coal and more than twice the heat of wood. If a measureless supply of wood existed within two hours of the city, to be had for cutting and hauling, we should feel easy on the fire question. Years since a careful State geologist estimated the peat along the Hudson River through Westchester and Rockland Counties at over two million cords, with better yield in the interior of those counties. New York City has dug out and thrown into the bay from its own subsoil peat enough to keep its fires going all this winter. The subway cuttings come upon it every little while, and the Irish workmen carry home sods of it to burn for the sake of the old country. The writer took a turf uptown from the cuttings at the Tombs Power Station, and it made incense in a bedroom grate for days. It was not dry, yet it burned and gave heat. But what was most curious and delightful was its aroma, like that of pines in the noonday sun. Its soft, purifying effect on the air, due to its moist, antiseptic property, soothed irritable lungs and made breathing easy. Enough had been read and heard of the "glowing fires of peat," but the charm of its subtle odor and the soft purity of its air were a novelty.

Old men who remember the peat fires of the Civil War and after, when coal waxed high and scarce, are enthusiastic over the lasting, summer-like heat diffused by burning turf. Between 1860 and 1875 some forty-six firms began to cut peat in New York, New England, and Ohio. It was everywhere liked as a household fuel, and it raised steam admirably, but it was not understood that it needed different firing from coal or wood. Above all, the supply was not adequate for railway and factory purposes, with the few and scattered companies raising peat at any one time. It was as if twenty small mines had to furnish all the coal wanted for the country to-day, or as many country mills grind all its flour. So peat fell back into disuse, railways bought their own coal-mines and worked or leased them, and every one else bought the fuel offered, wood or coal. Housekeepers would not look at coal as long as wood was five dollars a cord, and it took forty years to bring the public into the use of hard coal. It was held in the same contempt which peat now receives, as a makeshift for those who could afford nothing better. Let us learn the facts about this despised clod fuel.

The American Society of Mechanical Engineers, which will be recognized as sound authority, in its boiler tests rules one pound of dry wood equal to four-tenths of a pound of coal for making steam. That is, two and one-half tons of pine wood, a little over two and one-eighth cords, give the same heat as a ton of hard coal. Common air-dried peat gives the same heat with one and four-fifth tons. That is, again, common dry peat turf throws out more heat than the same amount of best oak or beech cord-wood. The average heat given by the best soft coal is 13,600 thermal units, that of dry peat 9,400 units, per pound. But there is such a thing as prepared peat, ground to pulp like wood fiber for paper, the water extracted by ventilator fans, and the pulp pressed into blocks three by four inches,

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hard as coal and clean as tile, yielding more heat than ordinary hard coal.

The Continent is far ahead of this country in the development of peat fuel. The Russian Government, aware that its oil-wells in southern Russia cannot meet the service for ships and railways, has hundreds of excavators at work in the peat bogs along the railway between St. Petersburg and Moscow, raising and pressing fuel for the locomotives. Alert little Finland and the Caspian order vessels and locomotives to burn peat when in shed or harbor. Sweden outdoes the world in fuel enterprise, for not only are its briquettes the best made, but its Royal Peat Association held a Peat Exposition last year, which showed twenty-four varieties of native peat, besides briquettes from Russia, Germany, and Holland, and the turf grown by the Peat Cultivation Society. Peat can be grown from Sphagnum and Hypnum swamp mosses in twenty-four years, although the vast deposits existing in the world began when mammoths had the globe to themselves. The exposition also showed quantities of by-products from peat, which equaled in variety the derivatives from coal—paraffine, acetic acid, peat spirit, peat tar, and ammonia in the list. It is not out of the way to consider peat as an unfinished coal mixed more or less with petroleum, the villainous smell left out. According to master engineers, two million tons of prepared peat have been used yearly in Swedish works.

Few regions north of the Carolinas are without a plentiful peat supply within a radius of fifty miles, and where this is the case it is cheap and beneficial to use common air-dried peat for household fires. It has a hundred good qualities besides its heating property. It does not dry the air as coal fires parch it, and long experience shows that its antiseptic quality prevents consumption and relieves it, like the air of pine forests. Consumption is practically unknown in peat-burning districts, and the lovely complexions of Irish and Swede women are largely due to the moist pure air of peat fires. Peat charcoal is a notable disinfectant, and late researches of Continental chemists prove that the cholera bacillus cannot survive where it is used. The value of peat ashes in manufactures and as a fertilizer equals its worth as a fuel. The ash discourages insect pests in orchard and garden; it nurtures the short, sweet pasture which feeds high-flavored mutton and fine wools, and makes the richest sward for lawns. Every inch and fiber of a peat bog has its value. The water from peat streams keeps sweet on shipboard round the world. The fibrous upper layers of turf, least considered for fuel, when ground with asphalt make the most enduring, elastic street pavement. Carefully burned, peat produces a charcoal worth five times as much as wood charcoal for the highest uses in manufactures and the arts.

If asked why this has not been known sooner, it is answered that the facts have been known for a hundred years, but the world is too taken up with what comes to hand to notice anything outside its immediate vision. Oppressive dispensations are needed to make nations recognize the resources of Nature. Starvation teaches the worth of maize and potatoes for food, and the coal famine brings to light the unsuspected values of a dozen fuels—coal-slack, lignites, briquettes, and native peat. It is said, by those who should know better, that the cost of manufacturing peat is too great to permit its use. But while this is said by those who should know better, we have it on the best authority of mechanical and civil engineers, of scientific institutes and trade reports, that it is made on the Continent, ground and pressed, at sixty cents a ton; and this side of the water an enterprising firm is turning out thousands of tons of finished peat weekly, at a cost of $1.75 a ton, including royalties. This is for the finished peat, which equals coal for heating, and exceeds it in other good qualities. It is nearly smokeless, it has no sulphurous gas, it does not burn out grates and boilers, and it is as clean to handle as so much flooring tile. The notable Holland housewives are willing to pay more for it than for coal, simply because it takes less room and is so clean to handle.

When it is added that peat can be successfully worked in winter as in summer, with the aid of mechanical devices, the last objection to its use would seem to be removed. The keen-witted manufacturers of Sweden and Denmark build their factories on the borders of peat bogs for

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the convenience of the fuel. The peat-turf in Minnesota and western New York is so bituminous as to take fire in the late summer and smolder slowly for months—in the Northwest burning until the snows of December put it out. It would be as well to adopt the latest Continental enterprise—building power and light stations on the edge of bogs, and transmitting power and gas to neighboring towns. Peat makes very brilliant gas, free from the malefic odors of coal-gas, at a much less expense. And the energy derived from the use of peat reduces the rate of power to one-ninth of a cent an hour for each horse-power—the computation given by a manufacturer who had installed his plant next to a peat bog. Is there nothing here to tempt the consideration of American business men?

The New International Encyclopædia[1]

THIS great work is well named. And it is international from the American standpoint on the continent which lies between the modern and the ancient seats of civilization, with the subjects of peculiar interest to Americans nearest to their eyes. It needed to be discriminated as "new" from the "International Cyclopædia" published years ago, since it is an independent and original work.

There are two distinct types of encyclopædia, represented severally by the "Encyclopædia Britannica" and by Brockhaus's "Conversations-Lexikon." The former is more suited to specialists than to the general reader. The latter, free from this limitation, is typically German in dry and monotonous indifference to literary form. Chambers's deservedly popular work embodies the merits without the defects of the German type, but, like the Britannica, retains too much of British insularity to be satisfactory to American needs. Several American cyclopædias, while aiming to supply its deficiencies, have made large drafts upon it.

But before the final volume of an encyclopædia is issued, its first volumes already lag behind the unresting advance of events and of learning. Not only are revisions and supplements constantly required, but new works are needed. Discovery and invention, new sciences, political and social changes, create new interests and open new outlooks upon the world of thought and the world of action. The projectors of the New International were not mistaken in judging that the first decade of the twentieth century is a ripe time for their great undertaking.

It is planned on German rather than on British lines, studious of scientific accuracy, but written for the general reader. At the same time, its principal contributors have been selected on the ground not only, as in Germany, of their special knowledge, but also of their literary style as attractive and clear. The volumes before us are a pledge that, whatever its shortcomings, ponderosity and dullness will not be among them. Reference is here in point to the eight-page article on Architecture, with its four additional full-page illustrations, Egyptian, Greek, Mexican, and American—the latter, quite fitly, being St. Paul's in New York, with its overlooking "sky-scrapers." This reference to illustrations justifies the further remark that the New International outranks in this line all its predecessors, both in quality and in quantity, while evincing a discriminating selection. Some of the colored plates, *e. g.*, Apples, Cacti, Indian Baskets, Indian Blankets, are very fine. In its numerous maps, of course, the latest political changes are exhibited, as a glance at its Africa reveals; and one finds drawn in its Antilles all the mail steamer routes as well as the submarine telegraph lines of the present year.

The contributors announced in the first volume number a hundred, of whom three only are women, whose several topics are Biography, Consumers' League, etc., and Cookery. The fact of this disproportion must be mentioned; beneath the surface of it we leave it to Sorosis to inquire. Beyond this list no note of individual authorship appears. Those who prefer

[1] *The New International Encyclopædia.* Edited by Daniel Coit Gilman, LL.D., Harry Thurston Peck, Ph.D., L.H.D., and Frank Moore Colby, M.A. Vols. I., II., III. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

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signed articles must respect the solid reasons given against them, of which this one is enough: that the number of revising hands through which many an article passes before it appears in the New International imparts to it a collective authorship in place of an individual.

A feature of this work convenient for the general reader, and not heretofore found in an encyclopædia, is its department of general intelligence, with a large variety of miscellaneous topics. Here occur titles and characters in literature, political nicknames, popular allusions, etc. This has been found a popular convenience in the Century Dictionary, in which, for instance, "Bondman" appears as "A tragedy by Massinger (1623);" to which the New International adds: "a minor opera by Balfe (1846); a novel by Hall Caine (1890), the scene of which is laid in the Isle of Man and Iceland." If one cannot find everything here—*e. g.*, "Barnburner," the name of a political faction in New York fifty years ago—there is an eminently satisfying abundance of this small information.

The department of Biography is rich beyond all that has yet appeared in encyclopædias. Some forty members of the Brown tribe find place here, besides over a dozen who add to their patronymic the slightly distinctive *e*. Not all of these may permanently remain above the encyclopædist's horizon; but none of them is here refracted from below it. The article on John Brown of Kansas must be pronounced deficient in the judicial impartiality shown his contemporary, President Buchanan. Brown is made the exponent of the "bloodiest and most unscrupulous type of frontier ruffianism." If such superlatives are his due, what words can be found for the atrocities that maddened him? In the copious illustrations that have been referred to, biography has its share in full-page portraits of illustrious characters, two or three in a volume.

Passing from general to particular, one finds a noteworthy article on Archæology, to which seventeen pages are devoted, with three full-page illustrations of Greek and American relics, besides many smaller ones—an admirable brief of an immense and expanding subject. Rather more is desirable at its close than the mere hint of the incomputable antiquity of man, elsewhere than on the American continent. Another scientific article of great merit is that on Biology, to which five pages are devoted. Here one may think that the discussion of the rival theories of experience and of natural selection as influential in the survival of the fittest, and the verdict in favor of the latter, have failed to take due notice of the recent theory of "orthoplasy," indorsed by some eminent names, as combining and reconciling these rivals by assigning to experience transmitted by education its value in utilizing the opportunities given by natural selection.

Among articles on the mechanic arts, that on the Atlantic Telegraph, with its account of the sixteen cables working at this date, those on the Automobile, with its two full-page illustrations, and on the Bridge, with three such, besides smaller ones, are excellent specimens of a present-day account. This department is fully exhibited. Bricks, butter, the machinery for making them, and even that employed in bottling, have each its full-page illustration.

Large space is given to the department of Geography, both physical and political. The physical maps of Africa, North America, South America, and Asia deserve special mention. The eighteen pages given to Australia and related subjects illustrate the value of a work that exhibits recent political changes, as in that newly organized commonwealth. The page and a half given to Australian Literature will be to many readers the revelation of a new field of interest.

Among religious subjects the Bible receives large treatment, embodying both common and curious facts to the extent of twenty-five pages. That but one page is given to Biblical Criticism may seem, in view of the appended bibliography, to be an instance of wise judgment in a subject at once so recondite and so hotly litigated. In this bibliography both sides are impartially represented. Throughout the entire work special students will find a good bibliography attached to every important article, with references to special monographs as well as to standard works.

It is not to be expected that a work involving innumerable particulars in the entire sphere of human knowledge shall be free of all slips and errors. Some

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such occur. It is hardly a historical fact that Cæsar "out of love for Cleopatra entered on the Alexandrine war." The historian Merivale represents the outbreak of hostility as prior to the love affair. Of another kind is the inaccurate statement that "the original site of Boston included Beacon, Copp's, and Fort hills, all of which have been considerably cut down." This is true of Beacon hill, not of Copp's, while of Fort hill not a vestige remains. The State House at Boston, in the fine engraving presented of its front, erected, as the text states, in 1795, is termed "The New State House." What is new in the building is a large extension in the rear, not visible in the engraving.

More serious misrepresentation occurs in the biographical sketch of Henry Ward Beecher, viz.: "His theology was not in general accord with that of the Congregational denomination. In 1878 he formally renounced belief in the eternity of future punishment." The latter statement is correct; the former is not. Mr. Beecher was not in *full* accord with the then general belief of Congregationalists: the disavowal here cited is proof of that, but it proves no more. That he was in *general* accord is incontestably true. Less excusable than this is the injustice done to Mr. Beecher by the omission of material facts, which should balance the statement that a jury failed by a vote of nine to three to acquit him of the charge of adultery, by a statement of his vindication by a remarkably large and representative church council after a searching investigation. Referring to this, the late President Porter, of Yale, in a public reply in England to insinuations against Mr. Beecher, expressed surprise that well-informed persons should regard Mr. Beecher's innocence as involved in any doubt. Yet the New International leaves it in doubt. The statements here criticised are taken over from the old International, and seem to have escaped that "searching criticism" which all matter from that source is stated to have undergone. Mr. Beecher's brothers, Charles, Edward, and Thomas, are severally termed a Congregational "divine," or "clergyman," but he is described as a "Protestant pulpit orator." The proper term for each is "Congregational minister," under which designation each appeared in the Congregational Year-Book till his death.

It remains to be said that this really formidable undertaking gives promsie of achievement not only creditable but brilliant. It aims at the production, not merely of a work for reference, but of a condensed library, in whose many departments the best knowledge of the time, digested and arranged, is presented in accessible and convenient form. The educational value of such a work for the home as well as the school is unquestionably great.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Aspects of the Jewish Question. By a Quarterly Reviewer. With Maps. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×6 in. 98 pages. $1, net.

Across Coveted Lands. By A. Henry Savage Landor. Illustrated. In 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5¾×9 in. $7.50.

In all externals this book is prepossessing. The two large volumes are well printed and have many good reproduced photographs. The narrative tells of the author's adventures in Persia and Beluchistan, which countries he reached through Russia and Afghanistan. As a personal record of travel the book is entertaining in a moderate degree, but when one tries to find material of real value about the countries which are indeed "coveted" by nations richer and more powerful, the result is disappointing and unsatisfactory. Neither the people nor the countries are brought out in strong relief.

Bairn Books (The): The Book of the Zoo. The Book of Shops. By Walter Copeland. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 3½×5 in. Per set, $1.25.

Black Prince and Other Poems (The). By Maurice Baring. John Lane, New York. 5×7¾ in. 144 pages.

Reserved for later notice.

Called of God (The). By A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Edited by J. A. Paterson, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8½ in. 336 pages. $2, net.

Under this title are included thirteen discourses by the late Professor Davidson, who for forty years held the chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the Free Church

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College, Edinburgh. Dr. Davidson, a scholar of international reputation, was a man of deeply emotional nature protected by a crust of reserve. A biographical introduction portrays his character. The discourses "all deal with the history—generally with a spiritual crisis in the history—of some Scripture personality."

Characters of Theophrastus (The). A Translation, with Introduction, by Charles E. Bennett and William A. Hammond. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 4¼×6¾ in. 85 pages. 90c., net.

Christian Science and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. By Rev. George Francis Greene, D.D. The Chronicle Print, Cranford, N. J. 4½×6½ in. 24 pages.

Vigorous; effective; a brief description of the claims of "Christian Science," and an expression of the writer's views of their fallacy.

Christ of the Ages (The): In Words of Holy Writ. By William Norman Guthrie. The Western Literary Press, Cincinnati. 6½×8½ in. 162 pages.

This is in some points a unique work. The demand of Christian thought to-day is for the historical Jesus, as he went about in Palestine, for the exact reproduction of his personality in word and deed, as it appeared to his disciples. Dr. Caird, the Master of Balliol, has shown that, however desirable be the closest possible approximation to this, it is beyond realization; the Christ, through the interpretation of him by his spirit after he had passed beyond earthly limitations, has necessarily become, and must permanently remain, an ideal conception—none the less authoritative for that, since there is no authority more imperative in conscience than that of the moral and religious ideal, when once conceived. So much is necessary to hold to, if one would fairly estimate the idea on which Mr. Guthrie's work is based. "The Christ," he says, "is He we see—not He alone whom the Gospels give." Mr. Guthrie's Christian consciousness finds the lineaments of his Jesus in the Hebrew equally with the Christian Scriptures, and has drawn on both to paint his portrait of the Son of Man in the freest exercise of the right of "Christian appropriation." Thus, the story of the temptation in the wilderness is introduced by a series of prophetic visions given in the Old Testament, which Jesus is represented as pondering during the "forty days." The portrait resulting from this treatment of the Scriptures is a mosaic, for which not all parts of the Gospels were found serviceable; so that there are some large omissions. The literary form is that of the "loose" blank verse used by the later Jacobean dramatists, and the sequence of the parts conforms to the order of the Christian year.

Collection of the Writings of John James Ingalls (A): Essays, Addresses, and Orations. Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co., Kansas City, Mo. 6×9½ in. 536 pages.

Commodore Trunnion's Courtship and The Cruise of H. M. S. Thunder. By Tobias Smollett. Herbert B. Turner & Co., Boston. 4½×6½ in. 245 pages. $1.25.

Essence of Christianity (The): A Study in Definition. By William Adams Brown, Ph.D., D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8¼ in. 332 pages. $1.50, net.

Reserved for later notice.

E. W. Dadson, B.A., D.D.: The Man and His Message. Edited by Jones H. Farmer, B.A., LL.D. William Briggs, Toronto. 5¼×7¾ in. 379 pages.

Dr. Dadson, who died in 1900, was a beloved pastor in Montreal and elsewhere, widely influential as a denominational leader and as editor for some years of the "Canadian Baptist." His memorial in this volume is that of a strong and much-loved man. It includes a sketch of his life, with many paragraphs from his writings on current topics, besides some characteristic sermons.

First-Hand Bits of Stable Lore. By Francis M. Ware. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5×8 in. 297 pages. $2, net.

In delightfully conversational language Mr. Ware gives us many hints concerning the proper care of horses. Every one who owns a horse should also own this volume.

Hasting the Pirate. By Paul Creswick. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 303 pages. $1.25.

This romancer harks back to the age of the Vikings for his tale of love and war. Saxon and Dane struggle for supremacy of sea and land, and for possession of two fair maids who are stolen back and forth, and gently and roughly wooed by turns. When finally they are given to their rightful lovers, it is by Alfred the Great. In the earlier chapters the two heroes are Alfred's guests at Corpe Castle, where the King holds Witan, persuading his councilors to co-operate with him in building many ships that England's navy may match the Vikings. There is a fine feast at Corpe Castle, and some love-making, while the pirates busy themselves in stealing such vessels as the good King commands. But everything comes right in the end, as it was bound to do with Alfred for King. The fault of the tale is that the heroes rush so foolishly into danger—but that is the way of heroes in romance.

Haunted Mine (The). By Harry Castlemon. Illustrated. Henry T. Coates & Co., Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 433 pages. 80c.

Her Majesty the King. By James Jeffrey Roche. Illustrated. R. H. Russell, New York. 5×8 in. 149 pages.

Her Wilful Way. By Helen Sherman Griffith. Illustrated. The Penn Publishing Co., Philadelphia. 5×7½ in. 360 pages. 90c., net.

Girls' stories are rare of late. This is one about a girl of good heart and mind, but thoughtless and irritable. A quarrel with a stepmother and the reconciliation of the two form part of the plot.

History of Christianity (The): From St. Paul to Bishop Brooks. By William Edward Gardner. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7½ in. 209 pages. 50c., net.

Mr. Gardner has very fairly accomplished the difficult task of condensing into some hundred and seventy pages an account of the development of primitive into modern Christianity. It is written in a catholic spirit and serviceable in any Sunday-school. Occasionally the narrative is so condensed as to be misleading. A serious case of this is the representation of the civil war in England, 1642–1648, as growing out of a religious rather than a political controversy. It is also quite amiss to speak of Tyndale's version of the Bible as discred-

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ited by its "inaccuracies." It was rather its annotations that made it distasteful to the church authorities. Tyndale's work set the standard for his successors.

History of the Middle Ages (A). By Dana Carleton Munro. Illustrated. (Twentieth Century Text-Books.) D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 242 pages. 90c.

A commendable attempt to simplify an intricate subject. Though compact, the book has something more than the dry bones of history; there are color and dramatic rendering of stirring episodes to be found not infrequently. The author's division and arrangement are excellent. He emphasizes three topics—the work of the Christian Church, the debt due to Byzantine and Arabic civilizations, and the life of the times.

Horace's Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Sæculare. Edited by Clifford Herschel Moore, Ph.D. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 465 pages. $1.50.

Immortality and Other Essays. By Charles Carroll Everett. The American Unitarian Association, Boston. 5×7¾ in. 280 pages. $1.20, net.

This third volume of essays by the late Dean of the Harvard Divinity School bears the stamp of his penetrating and cultivated mind and the charm of his felicitous literary style. While the transient occasions for which he wrote and temporary phases of thought are reflected here and there in these essays, they are so pervaded by the ideas of universal reason as to have permanent value. Theologically Dr. Everett was a rationalist; religiously he was a mystic, as any one must be who is profoundly possessed by the thought of the immanence of God. To listen to the discourse of such a mind brings enlightenment and peace.

Isle of Content (The). By George F. Butler, M.D. The Erudite Press, Concord, Mass. 6¼×9¾ in. 135 pages. $1.50.

This elegantly made volume contains the reflections of an educated and thoughtful mind on a variety of themes, the first of which loans its title to the whole. Without any trace of originality, and with no special charm of literary form, they are marked by good sense and sincerity, by cheerfulness and human sympathy.

Jewish Encyclopædia (The): A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Prepared by more than Four Hundred Scholars and Specialists under the Direction of the following Editorial Board: Cyrus Adler, Ph.D.; Gotthard Deutsch, Ph.D.; Richard Gottheil, Ph.D.; Joseph Jacobs, B.A.; Marcus Jastrow, Ph.D.; Frederick de Sola Mendes, Ph.D.; Isidore Singer, Ph.D., and Others. Vol. III., Bencemero—Chazanuth. Illustrated. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 7¼×11 in. 684 pages.

Nothing in our day more strongly attests the renaissance of the spirit of Judaism than this great work, Jewish in its inception and design, but supported by the co-operation of Christian with Jewish scholars. Its field is as wide as is the dispersion of the children of Israel. Every country, every town of note, where they have become a part of the community, every person of note whose history connects with theirs, comes into this record—a record of the religious, political, social, and scholarly activity of this persevering people for the past three thousand years. Thus in the present volume Lord Byron has place as the writer of "Hebrew Melodies;" the Emperor Caracalla of Rome, and the Empress Catherine II. of Russia, for their friendliness to the Jews. In whatever field Jewish activity has expressed itself, it finds a record here; *e. g.*, the British Museum has two pages for an account of the books and other objects of Jewish interest therein. The largest space is accorded to the Bible in various points of view, among which the two pages given to the Bible in Mohammedan literature illuminate a field too much neglected. Cantillation, the mode of intoning in public prayer and reading, is illustrated by some eight pages of musical notation. Among the numerous illustrations, those of the censorship to which Jewish publications have been subjected during the last two centuries are conspicuous: the first volume of this encyclopædia appears thus defaced by Russian intolerance. The bibliographical department is rich both in information and in illustration. Were it worth while to speak of slips, a singular one to notice in such a work is the etymology assigned to "catacomb," as a hybrid compound of Greek and Latin, whereas it is wholly Greek. It is matter for National satisfaction that only in America was it found possible to launch this epoch-marking work, nine more volumes of which will be required for its completion.

Literary Values and Other Papers. By John Burroughs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 3¾×7 in. 256 pages. $1.10, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Macaulay's Essay on Lord Clive. Introduction and Notes by J. W. Pearce, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6 in. 186 pages. 25c.

My Life-Work. By Samuel Smith, M.P. Illustrated. Hodder & Stoughton, London, England. 5½×8¾ in. 630 pages.

This volume is doubly interesting. It is of moment first as the autobiography of one who has deservedly occupied a prominent place in the eyes of all Englishmen, especially of all Dissenters; secondly, because the book comprises a capital history of Parliamentary proceedings during the past half-century. Though Mr. Samuel Smith is a veteran in politics, his matured opinions are not always those which one might expect—for instance, he thinks that India involves by far the most difficult problems confronting the British nation in the future, and adds: "Our future relations with America are almost as important as those with India." Other observers might think that the South African problems now exceed in complexity the Indian; and that the future relations of Great Britain with America are even more important than the relations existing between England and India. The most noteworthy part of the volume to the student of history and to the student of religion alike is Mr. Smith's account of his position on various questions affecting the Anglican Church and the Dissenting bodies. In 1897 he offered a motion to disestablish the Church of England, and says: "I never undertook anything that was more unpopular. All the

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Liberal leaders were opposed to it, and made me feel it so in a manner that was very trying, and of course it was resented by the whole Conservative party. I was well aware that as a politician it was mere folly to raise such a question. None had touched it since Mr. Miall, in 1873, and the cause had greatly gone down in the country. The impelling motive that urged me to this course was the apparent impossibility of rousing the country to the stealthy Romanizing of the Church [of England] except by a motion of this kind." If disestablishment ever comes, the name of Samuel Smith will be remembered as a courageous protagonist, although the time was not ripe for such an extension of freedom as he and others have endeavored to bring about. The autobiography is rather too diffusely written; it might have been condensed with profit to the average reader. It will be found, however, not only a recognized source of information for the student of English politics, but also a source of inspiration to any man. It shows how religion animates not only one department of life but all departments.

Myrtle and Oak. By Rennell Rodd. Forbes & Co., Boston. 5×7¾ in. 115 pages. $1.

Orchestral Instruments and Their Use. By Arthur Elson. Illustrated. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 5¼×8 in. 299 pages.

An introductory chapter deals with primitive and "savage" instruments, and is followed by one on the growth of the orchestra. The final chapter treats of the orchestra as a unit, and characterizes some of the most eminent orchestral conductors. The intermediate chapters describe the individual instruments: first the violin, and then, in order, the other stringed instruments, the reeds, the brass, and the instruments of percussion. The book is enlivened with a large number of pertinent stories about music and musicians. The author has not only a capital sense of humor, but also a very good wit of his own. He has succeeded admirably in making a necessarily brief and terse treatment of his theme very readable and clear. The volume is well worth adding to a musical library, and deserves a welcome from the amateur and the concert-goer. There is a useful index.

Prayers and Thoughts for the Use of the Sick. Selected by Lucy Forney Bittinger. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 4½×7¼ in. 161 pages. $1, net.

This collection, which includes many passages of Scripture, is both judicious and serviceable for consolation and patience, not only to the sick, but also to those in various kinds of trouble.

Preacher's Life (A): An Autobiography and an Album. By Joseph Parker, D.D. Illustrated. T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. 426 pages.

The recent death of Dr. Parker, the many-sided Christian preacher, draws fresh attention to his autobiography, penned barely five years since. Whatever other memorial of him may appear in print, this will be its natural companion. Here is the real Parker to be compared with Parker as others saw him. The autobiography itself is divided into "Personal and Pastoral," "Literary and Controversial." The appended "Album" is a series of personal sketches—Gladstone, Beecher, and others. A royal personality pervades the whole.

Selected Poems. By William Watson. John Lane, New York. 4½×7 in. 143 pages.

Reserved for later notice.

Short Tales from Storyland. By Evelyn Everett-Green. Illustrated in Color and Black and White. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 7×9½ in. 96 pages. $1.50.

Ten Girls from Dickens. By Kate Dickinson Sweetser. Illustrated by George Alfred Williams. J. F. Taylor & Co., New York. 6½×9½ in. 236 pages.

Triumph of Love (The). By Edmond Holmes. John Lane, New York. 6½×8 in. 68 pages.

Reserved for later notice.

True History of the American Revolution (The). By Sydney George Fisher. Illustrations. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×8 in. 437 pages. $2, net.

Though falling short of a great work, the narrative of this volume sustains its daring title. Passionately patriotic, in fullest sympathy with the revolutionary elements which carried on our great struggle for national independence, the author puts in the clearest light the excesses committed on our side, the divisions in the ranks of our own citizens, who the loyalists were and why they sided with Great Britain, the moderation shown by the British commander Howe, and innumerable other things which are practically unknown by the great body of cultivated Americans—unless they have read Lecky or Tyler—and yet must be known if a true or even plausible picture of the Revolution is to be presented. It is a commonplace to say that history is past politics, but the very historians who repeat it write of our Revolution as if in that political struggle society divided in a different way from that in which it divides to-day, and as if all the arguments were on one side, while to-day there is so much to be said on both. As Mr. Fisher pertinently remarks:

> The people who write histories are usually of the class who take the side of the Government in revolution, and as Americans they are anxious to believe that our Revolution was different from others, more decorous, and altogether free from the atrocities, mistakes, and absurdities which characterized even the patriot party in the Revolution. They do not like to describe in their full coloring the strong Americanism and the doctrines of the rights of man which inspired the party that put through our successful rebellion. They have, accordingly, tried to describe a revolution in which all scholarly, refined, and conservative persons might have unhesitatingly taken part, but such revolutions have never been known to happen.

Mr. Fisher writes of a revolution in which the radical elements had the same characteristics they have to-day, and the story rings true. Fortunately, the narrative is as interesting as it is instructive, and therefore, while we do not take Mr. Fisher's view upon all points, we heartily commend his volume to all who would like to understand why the "scholarly, refined, and conservative" elements in our own country, as well as in England, were generally antagonistic to American independence.

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Correspondence

Our Plutocratic Government

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The article in The Outlook of November 22, on "The Trust Problem," is gratifying to me, but at the same time makes assertions which the facts in the case would seem to refute.

For example, on page 671, you assert that this government is "democratic in politics, education, and religion;" and that "the plain people control the government of city, State, and Nation." Now I say that these statements may be true some day, that they ought to be true to-day, but that they are not true now, nor have they ever been true in this country, especially since the adoption of our present Constitution in 1787. The preamble to that Constitution is as much out of harmony with the Constitution itself as is the Constitution out of harmony with the principles of liberty and equality laid down in the Declaration of Independence eleven years before. One is wholly inconsistent with the other. To say that our present government is democratic, or even republican, in principle is to say what is not true. To say that it is aristocratic is not to come as near to the truth as to say that it is plutocratic. Our Constitution was written primarily for the defense of private property, and hence, of necessity, the powers of government were placed in the hands of private property (capital) by those who made the Constitution. This act on the part of the framers of the Constitution was done deliberately, as their own statements will show; hence they cannot be excused, nor can they be held to be innocent of the conscious betrayal of the rights of the people.

That our government is not a popular government in any true sense can be shown, first, by the expressed purpose of the prominent framers of our Constitution, and, second, by the working of the instrument itself.

First, as to the purpose of the framers; and I can take the time to refer to the ideas of but a few of the men in the Philadelphia Convention. Many other statements, with these which I ask your permission to give, may be found printed in Mr. Madison's Minutes of the Federal Convention, comprising Volume V. of Elliott's Debates, and Mr. Yates's Minutes, in Vol. I. of the same work:

"Mr. Madison: Government ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority."—E. D., I. 449.

"Mr. Gouverneur Morris: The Senate ought to be composed of men of great and established property—aristocracy; . . . and to make them completely independent, they should be chosen for life. Such an aristocratic body will keep down the turbulence of democracy."—E. D., I. 475.

"Mr. Madison: In all civilized countries the people fall into different classes, having a real or supposed difference of interest. There will be particularly the distinction of rich and poor. In framing a system of government which we wish to last for ages, we should not lose sight of the changes which ages will produce. An increase of population will of necessity increase the proportion of those who will labor under all the hardships of life, and secretly sigh for a more equal distribution of its blessings. These may in time outnumber those who are placed above the feelings of indigence. According to the equal laws of suffrage, the power will slide into the hands of the poor. How is this danger to be guarded against?"—E. D., V. 243.

"Mr. Hamilton stated that he did not believe in a republican government, but urged those who did to tone their government as high as possible. Inequality constituted the great and fundamental distinction in society."—E. D., V. 244.

"Mr. Butler insisted that the labor of a slave in South Carolina was as productive and valuable as that of a freeman in Massachusetts; that as wealth was the great means of defense and utility to the nation, they were equally valuable to it with freemen; and that, consequently, an equal representation ought to be allowed for them in a government which was instituted principally for the protection of property."—V. 296.

"Mr. Hamilton: All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born; the other, the mass of the people. . . . The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the rich and well born a distinct, permanent place in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the mass of the people."—E. D., I. 421.

"Mr. Gerry: Government should be moved as far as possible from the people."—V. 136.

"In Massachusetts there are two parties: one devoted to democracy—the worst of all political evils; the other as violent in the opposite extreme."—V. 537.

"Mr. Randolph: The general object of the Senate was to provide a cure for the turbulence and follies of democracy."—V. 138.

There are several other extracts I

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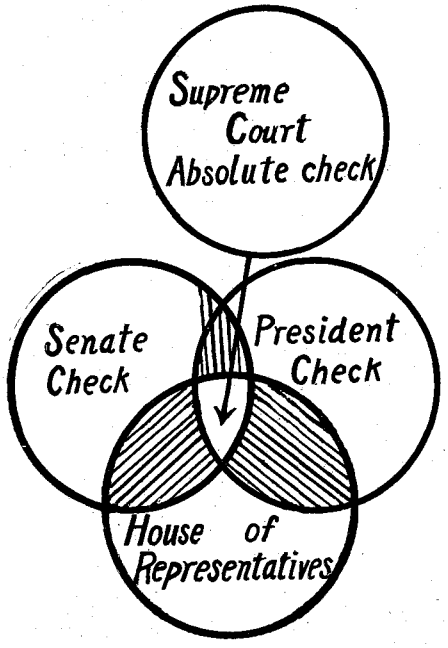
would like to give, but must limit myself to these, with one other from Mr. Madison:

"In a republican government the majority, if united, have always an opportunity. The only remedy is to enlarge the sphere, and thereby divide the community into so great a number of interests and parties that a majority will not be likely to have a common interest separate from that of the whole, or of a minority; and, in the second place, that in case they should have such an interest, they may not be so apt to unite in the pursuit of it."—V. 163.

When it is remembered that the attempt was made by the Convention to have these records destroyed, and that they were not given to the people till more than fifty years after the adoption of the Constitution, and that the Constitution was made so rigid that it is practically impossible even to amend it, is there not manifest in these facts, as well as in the statements made in the Convention, that the framers knew that they were robbing the people of the United States of their rights and liberties?

Now, in the second place, let us see how the Constitution has worked practically. To show this I append a diagram



which is almost self-explanatory. The House of Representatives is the only popular branch of the government. This branch has a negative check, but practically no power positively to carry out the will of the people. The Senate and the Executive veto are each checks upon it, and nothing can pass the House upon which these other powers do not agree. But, strangest of all innovations in the establishment of a government, should these three branches finally agree upon any new measure in the interest of the people, and it become a law, the Supreme Court, with a rigid Constitution back of it, stands ready to kill the measure with an absolute veto. This feature of our government, which Mr. John Fiske has highly commended as a purely "American idea," is good if the people want a constitutional monarchy, but such an absolute negative power placed in the hands of a few men, naturally aristocratic in tendencies, or with any tendencies, however good they may be, in itself refutes the statement so often made by the press and by political speakers in this country, that this government is founded upon democratic principles.

THOMAS C. WISWELL.

University Congregational Church,
Seattle, Washington.

[It is impossible for us to refute the statements of our correspondent, because he is discussing—it appears to us—not matters of fact, but matters of opinion. If the people and government of the United States are in the state which he believes them to be in, the condition of all concerned—plutocrats, proletariat, editors, clergymen, everybody indeed excepting the members of the Supreme Court and the United States Senators (although the popular election of Senators which we foresee in the not far distant future is going to knock *them* out, too) is sorry indeed. In our turn we should like to ask our correspondent what he proposes to do about it. Has he or any other one individual, or set of individuals, invented a system of government to take the place of our present system? If so, we should be glad to know about it. Our conviction, amply confirmed and sustained by history, is that governments are the fruits of evolution, not of invention. The farmer of the State of Washington who wants to improve his apple crop does it, not with the saw, with the ax, and with fire, but by grafting, plowing, pruning, and spraying. This is the method to be followed, we believe, in developing a true democracy.—THE EDITORS.]

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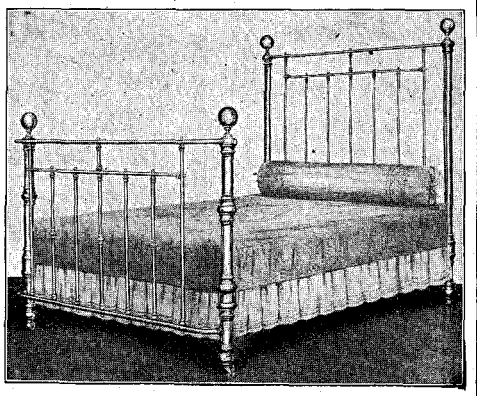

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Suits, of materials suitable for Winter and early Spring Wear; former price $10, reduced to $6.67. $12 Suits reduced to $8. $15 Suits reduced to $10. $21 Suits reduced to $14.

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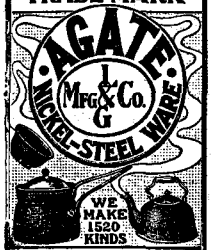

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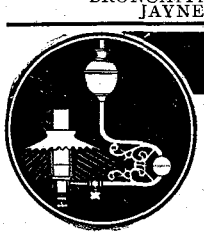

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